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Indian National Congress

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIES

Jan. 1954—Jan. 1955

AVADI, MADRAS.

January 1955.

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KALYANI SESSION

After a quarter of a century and for the first time since India's independence, the Indian National Congress held its 59th Session in Bengal. The Reception Committee selected for the venue a place not very far from the metropolitan city of Calcutta. She was the Roosevelt Town of the Second World War and is the Kalyani Town of the present day. It is connected with Calcutta by two main high ways, Barrackpore Trunk Road and Jessore Road. As the road services offer by far the more effective form of passenger transport for short distance travel, a bus service between Calcutta and Kalyani was opened during the Congress Session. The site of the Session presented a beautiful appearance. Besides the pucca buildings a number of well lighted tents and *samianas* were put up to house the delegates. The Open Session pandal gave an artistic view having been nicely decorated with flowers and green leaves. The main attraction was provided by the well organised exhibition of cottage industries. The exhibition was very representative and almost all the State Governments had sent their exhibits. The Planning Commission had specially erected its stall to depict the progress of the Five Year Plan and the various River Valley Projects which were quickly coming up.

The 59th Session was held at Kalyani on the 23rd January 1954 under the Presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru in the presence of about 1400 delegates. More than a lakh of people representing different walks of life were present. Fine weather prevailed in sharp contrast to the dark clouds of war which were hovering over the international situation to the analysis of which Shri Nehru devoted a large portion of his Presidential Address.

Presidential Address

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru remarked, "We meet at a critical time. It is true that at no time now are we free from some crisis or other, and the world lives in a state of high tension, alternating

between hope and fear. And yet, it may be said, that the issues that the world is facing, in the present and in the immediate future, are of peculiar difficulty and danger.

“ This curious mixture of events and significant happenings is symbolic of the world today, where we are pulled in various directions, often by forces that we cannot control. We have the firm anchor of the principles that Gandhiji taught us to believe in, we have the hope and faith that nourish us and give us strength, and we have also the strong winds of fear and hatred and violence that blow in from all directions and seek to uproot us from our anchorage. We live in the dim twilight of the cold war, not knowing whether this will end in the black night of war or herald the dawn and sunlight of a fresh hope for humanity.

“ It is a difficult task to balance ourselves on the sharp edge of the present with these various and opposing forces that try to push us hither and thither. Fortunately for us, we carry still the inspiration that Gandhiji gave us and even though we may occasionally forget his teaching, the light of it still illumines our minds and hearts.

“ Can war, if it comes, solve any of the problems that confront us ? It is clear that it will bring no solution. All that it is likely to do is to bring uttermost destruction and even uproot the very basis of modern civilisation and culture. It will degrade humanity and lead to far more problems than we face today. War, therefore, must be avoided for, in existing circumstances, there can be no greater evil. Any step that leads to war has also to be avoided and we must seek solution of our problems by other methods. The first step is to ease the tensions that exist.

“ Peace is not merely an absence of war. It is also a state of mind. That state of mind is almost completely absent from this world of cold war today. We have endeavoured not to succumb to this climate of war and fear and to consider our problem as well as the problems of the world as dispassionately as possible. We have felt that even if some terrible tragedy over-

takes the world, it is worthwhile to keep some area of the world free from it to the extent possible. Therefore, we have declared that India will be no participant in a war and we have hoped that other countries in Asia would likewise keep away from it, thus building up an area of peace. The larger this area is, the more the danger of war recedes. If the whole world is divided up into two major and hostile camps, then there is no hope for the world and war becomes inevitable”.

Talking about home front he said, “ After the attainment of independence, our urgent task has been to devote ourselves to the economic betterment of our people, to raise their standards of living, to remove the curse of poverty and to promote equality and social justice. The extent to which we succeed or fail in this great task will be the measure of our achievement. That remains therefore, and will remain, our first duty and concern. But the world presses in upon us from all directions and we cannot remain unconcerned with what happens elsewhere, more especially in Asia. We stand on the threshold of the atomic age which knits together this world and makes it one integrated whole, for good or ill. The geographical position of India in South Asia has throughout history brought her in intimate contact with the other parts of Asia. We cannot ignore or change geography.

“ National solidarity means equally the development of the strength of our nation. This rests on us and us alone. We must seek to build up our strength on ourselves and not by dependence on others. Dependence in one direction leads to dependence in another. Nations, it is said, by themselves are made. By self-reliance, we shall command respect and we shall make our country more and more our own, of each one of us.

“ This calls for great endeavour, not only physical, economic or financial, but spiritually also on our part. It was that kind of endeavour that made us an independent nation and also enabled us to overcome the catastrophes of the early days of our independence. That is the real spirit of our people and the answer to the challenge that is hinted to us. We shall be vigilant, we shall safe-

guard our national heritage and security, we will pursue our endeavour for peace in the world, but we must basically rely on ourselves.

“ Unemployment, on a large scale casts a blight on many young lives and is one of our major problems. We cannot remove it by some magic but we can gradually put an end to it by proper planning and hard work. It is no good for everybody to look up to posts in Government service. But we should be able to guarantee employment and work to anyone who is prepared to work hard and is not disdainful of manual labour.

“ Freedom is precious and has its rights and privileges ; it has also its responsibilities and obligations. We shall only preserve that freedom if we are conscious all the time of discharging our duties. Those of us, who are privileged to serve in our legislatures, have a special duty to perform. Their work does not lie in the legislatures only, nor is the success of parliamentary government measured mainly by its legislative output or the number of days on which the legislature sits. It is the quality of its work that counts and the nature of the relationship between the members and the people who elect them. It also depends upon the growth of a proper relationship between the executive and the legislature. The Member of Parliament or of an Assembly is the symbol of our democracy in his constituency. It is his work there that brings the legislatures and people close together and helps to maintain the contacts and relationships that make democracy dynamic and effective. Thus, his work and functions in his constituency are continuous and are not limited to election time. It is his responsibility to have an informed electorate and therefore, an informed country. He should be the guardian of the people's interests and their voice ; it should be his function also to render the people conscious and alert about the great obligations which independence has enjoined on all of us. The faith of the people in democratic and parliamentary methods largely rests on the work of the members of the legislatures in their constituencies. These members should not seek to perform the functions or take the place of the administration,

local, State or national ; but if they function properly, they make a great impact on them and make Governments respond to the needs and aspirations of the people."

HE CONCLUDED AS FOLLOWS :

" Fate and circumstances have cast a heavy responsibility on India. All of us, to whatever party we might belong, have to shoulder this responsibility. In particular, those who are privileged to be in the Congress must necessarily carry a greater burden. They should do so not in any pride of spirit but in all humility and with the consciousness that the great organisation to which they belong still continues to be an agent of historic destiny. They must not only live up to its traditions but always seek the cooperation of others so that in the brief span of life that remains to us, we may write a worthy chapter in India's long history."

Resolutions :

This Congress passed as many as nine resolutions earlier adopted by the Subjects Committee and the Working Committee. Of the nine, five were passed on the first day and the rest on the second.

In the first resolution the Congress gave expression to its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of :—

1. Shri Asaf Ali, Delhi,
2. Dr. S. P. Mookerji, Bengal.
3. Shri Prajapati Mishra, Bihar.
4. Shri S. R. Kidwai, Delhi.
5. Lala Shankar Lal, Delhi.
6. Shri Hariharanath Shastri, U.P.
7. Shri Raghunandan Saran, Delhi.
8. Shri Atma Singh Namdhari, Punjab.
9. Shri Bipin Behari Ganguly, Bengal.
10. Shri N. S. Kille, Karnatak.

11. Shri Kochanna Bhandari, Karnatak.
12. Shri Govindrao Raghunath Pradhan, Nagpur.
13. Shri S. N. Buragohain, Assam.
14. Shri Pannalal Kaushik, Rajasthan.
15. Shri Guru Gosain Jagtarandas, Mahakoshal.
16. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Tamilnad.
17. Shri G. D. Vartak, Bombay.
18. Shri Benegal Narsingh Rao.
19. Shri G. Ramachari, Hyderabad.
20. Shri Jaisukhlal K. Mehta, Bombay.
21. Shri N. Halashyam, Tamilnad.
22. Shri Karupia Barathi, Tamilnad.
23. Shri Nagindas T. Master, Bombay.
24. Shri Lakshmi Kanta Moitra, West Bengal.

Through the next resolution the Congress sent its greetings and affectionate regards to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib and Khan Abdus Samad Khan on their partial liberation after long years in prison.

The next resolution on Korea read as follows :

“ This Congress expresses appreciation of the policy pursued by the Government of India in regard to the Korean situation. It was largely due to this policy that active warfare ceased in Korea and a cease-fire was proclaimed. Subsequently, in discharging the heavy burden of the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and maintaining a custodial force in Korea, India has sought to fulfil its obligations in an impartial and objective manner, always trying to further the cause of peace and a settlement in the Far East. It is highly regrettable that, because of various circumstances, the processes laid down in the Armistice Agreement between the two Commands could not be fully carried out. At the same time, the custodial force could not continue its custody of the prisoners of war beyond a certain date without the consent of the two parties. This

consent being lacking, the custodial force had no alternative but to terminate its custody, though it could not release the prisoners of war or declare them of civilian status.

“The Congress trusts that the Political Conference envisaged in the Armistice Agreement will be able to meet soon to decide such questions as still await decision.

“The Congress expresses its appreciation of the work of the representatives of India and the custodial force in Korea.”

In the Resolution about Colonial Domination and Racial Discrimination the Congress reiterated its previous stand in the following terms :

“The Congress, throughout its long history, has stood for the freedom of all countries, and more especially for the elimination of colonial domination and racial discrimination. It had, therefore, welcomed the achievement of freedom by many Asian countries. This was a reversal of the process which had brought European domination to Asia some hundreds of years ago. It also meant the gradual removal of one important cause of international conflict.

“Recent events have, however, indicated that attempts are being made to consolidate, both politically and economically, foreign control in some countries in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. This is evident in North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and British Guiana and in some parts of Asia. Even in India, small pockets of foreign territory continue and are a constant irritant.

“Ever since the beginning of the 20th century, and more particularly after the first World War, great popular movements arose in many colonial countries seeking freedom. These movements released forces which had been suppressed for a long time, and ultimately led in some of these countries, to independence. In recent years, a similar development has taken place in the countries of Africa.

“Attempts to suppress these nationalist urges for political freedom and economic betterment can only lead to great unhappiness

and continuing crises. The people of India have been following with grave concern these attempts at suppression.

“ The Congress appreciates the introduction of a measure of self-government in the Gold Coast of Africa and in Nigera. The Congress also welcomes the emergence of self-Government in Sudan and sends its greetings to the people of Sudan on this historic development.

“ This policy of encouraging self-Government is, however, in sharp contrast to what is happening elsewhere. The Congress would earnestly urge the Governments concerned to appreciate the passionate urges for freedom that move the peoples of Asia and Africa and to co-operate with them in realising this freedom, in particular, to discountenance and oppose racial discrimination wherever and in whatever form it might exist.

“ The Congress also expresses its deep regret at the support being given to feudal and reactionary regimes which are completely out of place today.

“ The future of the countries of Asia and Africa will ultimately have to be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people there, and every attempt to impose decisions upon them can only lead to conflict and, at best, a temporary success at the cost of bitterness and ill-will. The whole purpose underlying the Charter of the United Nations is belied by the enforced continuation of colonial domination and racial discrimination.”

The Congress welcomed the appointment by the Government of India of a Commission for the Re-organisation of States and recommended to the nation to help in the solution of this problem by encouraging a co-operative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination. The resolution was adopted in the following form :

“ The Congress welcomes the appointment by the Government of India of a Commission for the re-organisation of States and the wide terms of reference that have been laid down for it. The present Constitution of the States in India, as a result of historical

growth and the changes brought about after Independence, is in many respects unsatisfactory and their re-organisation has thus become necessary. In considering this problem it is important that all relevant factors should be borne in mind, such as cultural and linguistic affinities, administrative convenience, financial considerations and economic progress both of each State and of the nation as a whole. In Particular, the unity of India and national security must be given first priority.

“ This problem can only be considered satisfactorily in a dispassionate and objective manner and therefore an agitational approach is not only not necessary now, but is likely to prove harmful and delay satisfactory solution. The Congress, therefore, recommends to the nation to help in the solution of this problem by encouraging a co-operative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination. Congressmen, in particular, must avoid controversy, especially among themselves, on these issues.

“ This is particularly necessary when the present situation in India demands national unity and a combined effort to build up the nation.”

By another resolution the Congress reiterated its conviction that India must continue to follow an independent policy in international affairs and not align herself with any group or nation against any other group. The full text of the resolution is given below :

“ India's thought and cultural and historical background have inevitably led her to pursue paths of peace. Even in her own national struggle for Independence, she adopted, under the guidance of her great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the path of non-violence. On the achievement of Independence, her policy, flowing from this past history and background, led her to devote her energies to the promotion of international peace. She sought the friendship of all nations and, at the same time, avoided any alignment or entanglements which might result in her being hostile to any country. Any other course would have been a deviation

from the policy she had proclaimed and a betrayal of the principles she had long stood for. It would have meant also a surrender of her freedom of action to the dictates of others.

“From long and bitter experience she had learnt that a nation desiring freedom must basically rely on itself and dependence upon others meant a limitation of that freedom and an abandonment, to some extent, of the spirit and individuality of a nation, which give it strength, vitality and purpose.

“The Congress is well aware that there are great and powerful nations, far more advanced in many ways than India, and these nations are sometimes pressed by the urge for expansion and the desire to make other countries fall within their orbit of influence. India cannot and has no desire to compete with them in strength of arms. At the same time, she cannot and will not surrender her way of thinking or action to pressure exercised from outside. She will continue to offer her friendship to all countries and cooperate with them to the best of her ability but she will resist any aggression or any attempt to compel her to function against her own wishes. The principles she has endeavoured to follow are based on the pursuit of peace and the conviction that means are always important and must not be sacrificed to ends; in particular, that war today is likely to be a horrible calamity and an irretrievable disaster and must be avoided. Every step that increases tensions between nations and the climate of war must also, therefore, be avoided.

“The Congress reiterates its conviction that India must continue to follow an independent policy in international affairs and not align herself with any group of nations against any other group”.

In the next resolution regarding United States Military aid to Pakistan, the Congress showed its grave concern for such proposal and said that they would welcome the peaceful development of Pakistan. The text of the resolution is as follows :

“The Congress has learnt with grave concern that there are certain proposals for military aid to be given by the United

States of America to Pakistan. The Congress would welcome the peaceful development of Pakistan because the development of all countries of South Asia is important and is a guarantee of peace and stability in South Asia. In particular, the Congress considers friendly and cooperative relations between India and Pakistan, which have so much in common with each other, as essential."

"But the intervention of a great and powerful country, in the shape of military aid, whatever the motives of such aid might be, necessarily leads to grave and far-reaching consequences which affect the whole of South Asia, and more particularly, India. Such aid, it is stated, is meant to ensure peace in this area, but the effect of it is likely to be the exact opposite of this. The area of potential war would spread and fresh conflicts may arise.

"In view of the history of Asia during the past few hundred years, military aid and intervention by foreign Powers in Asian countries is a reversal of the process of liberation which had led these countries, after long struggle, to a large measure of freedom.

"The United States of America have a long record as champions of freedom and democracy. On them rests a very great responsibility today because of their great power and influence. The Congress earnestly trusts that the U.S.A. will not take any step which will tend to reverse the process of history in Asia and create doubt and apprehension in the minds of Asian peoples, who wish to pursue the path of freedom and democracy in their own way.

"The Congress wishes to assure the people of Pakistan of its friendly feelings towards them and of its desire to further the cooperation of the two countries.

"Because of these developments a grave situation has arisen which demands, above all, national solidarity. The Congress trusts therefore that in this crisis the people of India, whatever their internal differences might be, will present a united front and devote themselves to the development and strengthening of the nation through peaceful processes. It is not by a competition in armaments that India will basically strengthen herself,

but by unity, self reliance and the social, economic and industrial development of the nation ”.

In the resolution about Planning and Development, the Congress showed its satisfaction regarding the achievement of many of the targets of the Five Year Plan and particularly the progress made in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service. The Congress expressed the hope that the Second Five Year Plan would be built up with the cooperation of the Panchayats, Village Communities, Local bodies and the like so that it could be a People's Plan. The full text of the resolution runs as follows :

“ The Congress notes with satisfaction the achievement of many of the targets of the Five Year Plan, notably in regard to the production of foodgrains, cotton, jute and sugarcane, and also in regard to the reclamation of land and the installation of additional power capacity. Adequate progress has also been made in regard to the production of cotton yarn, mill cloth, cement and fertilizers. The building of locomotives has exceeded the target and increasing numbers of coaches and wagons are being made. Progress in building of national highways and roads has also been considerable.

“ The magnificent river valley schemes are nearing completion and numerous small irrigation schemes have been completed. Great factories for certain basic industries are also functioning or are under construction.

“ The Congress particularly welcomes the progress made in the community projects and the national Extension service and records its appreciation of the widespread popular response to these far reaching activities which are meant to cover, with the cooperation of the people, the whole of rural India within a short space of time.

“ While appreciating the very considerable progress made by the country in many sectors of the national economy, the Congress is of opinion that the pace of progress has to be quickened. In particular, improvement in village and small scale

industries has been slow and demands greater attention, more especially with a view to providing employment.

“ The Congress has also noted with concern the fact that there has been in many cases a short fall in the execution of projects which have been approved and for which money has actually been sanctioned. This has taken place both in the Central Government and in the States. This appears to be due principally to administrative difficulties and to the fact that the rules of procedure, both at the Centre and in the States, are elaborate and complicated and lead to delays. These rules and conventions were framed long prior to Independence and do not suit the conditions of a democratic State aiming at rapid development. Unless the procedures are so revised as to make such rapid development possible, even the resources at the disposal of the country will not be fully utilised. The Congress recommends, that early action should be taken in revising these rules, including those for recruitment of the Public Services, and bringing them more in line with present-day conditions and the demands made upon the State for rapid action.

“ The success of planning depends upon the peoples understanding of it and their cooperation with it. It is clear that where the people have been properly approached they have appreciated the work done and have given their cooperation in full measure. It is necessary to keep in constant touch with the people and to invite them to share in the execution of the Plan and the building up of new India. In Particular, the Second Five Year Plan should be built up with the cooperation of the ‘ panchayats ’, village communities, local bodies and the like so that it should be a People’s Plan and local leaders should assume responsibility both in the formulation of the Plan and later in executing it.

“ Future progress should envisage the completion of land reform so as to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land. Particular attention should be paid to the industrial sectors, more especially in regard to the basic and key industries, as well as the small scale and village industries. In regard to small scale and village industries, techniques of manufacture must be

improved and wherever possible, spheres of production should be demarcated.

“The aim of planning must always be the establishment of a Welfare State and full employment. This involves not only greater production and equitable distribution but progress along all sectors of the national economy. It involves also special reform and cultural progress, more particularly in regard to the educational system which should be progressively based upon the principles of Basic Education and the training of technical personal.”

The most important resolution adopted at Kalyani was entitled “Call to the Nation.”. The resolution said that in view of the international developments and the new situation that India have to face, it is of paramount importance that the country’s energies and resources should be directed to the building up and strengthening of the nation. The basic strength can only come by national unity and self reliance and by concentrating on the major issues which confront the nation. These issues are the social, economic and industrial development of the country. For this purpose, the nation must rely on its own resources and must be prepared for austerity in the present, so that security and a fuller life might be available to the people in the future. The Congress is convinced that the people of India will face this new situation with unity, courage and perseverance and will be prepared to give their resources to be utilised for this purpose.

The Congress recommends to the Government that special development loans be floated so that public works on a large scale might be initiated and industries built up, thus not only strengthening the nation, but also providing large scale employment to the people. Such loans should suit the small investor so that large numbers of people should associate themselves in this, as in other ways, in the great and cooperative endeavour to build a strong and progressive nation.

P. C. C. and D. C. C. Presidents and Secretaries Conference at Kalyani

A representative meeting of the office-bearers of the P.C.Cs and D.C.Cs was held at 9-30 p.m. on 22nd Jan. 1954 at Kalyani.

Nearly one hundred prominent office-bearers, including the Presidents and Secretaries of the P.C.Cs, attended the meeting. The three General Secretaries of the Congress were also present.

Shri S. N. Agarwal started the deliberations with his opening speech and suggested that the organisational matters might be discussed in the meeting and invited opinion from the members present. He pointed out that response to the A.I.C.C. circulars was but meagre and no regular information and reports about the activities of the Congress organisation were supplied by the P.C.Cs. The District Congress Committees practically showed no interest and it seemed that only 20 to 25 District Congress Committees were active. The P.C.Cs and the D.C.Cs had been advised to subscribe to the ECONOMIC REVIEW and ARTHIK SAMEEKSHA issued from the A.I.C.C. office. There was no eagerness on the part of Congress organisation to do the same. This obviously indicated lack of earnestness and enthusiasm. It was essential that intimate contact must be established between the A.I.C.C. P.C.Cs and D.C.Cs. A machinery should be set up for regular supply of materials and information asked for.

Then Shri Balvantray Mehta addressed the gathering. He pointed out that the office-bearers met one year earlier in Hyderabad and it was but proper that they should again discuss the problems in the light of the experience that they had gained. The Congress organisation had tremendous responsibility imposed on it because of the fact that Governments in the States as well as at the Centre were administered by the Congress. As such, honest efforts should be made to remove the defects and rectify mistakes.

Last year, it was decided that Congressmen should be prepared to learn the proper use of Hindi which has become the Rashtra Bhasha and that steps should be taken to start working in the same. We cannot afford to postpone the use of the National language for an indefinite period. It was incumbent on Congressmen and especially, Congress workers to take it up with real earnestness and make themselves fully prepared to use Hindi in all the meetings and in correspondences. In each State, the

State language is to be used and in inter-state conferences and meetings like this, Hindi should be used as a matter of course. Shri Mehta suggested that office-bearers of Congress Committees should undergo a form of examination in Hindi.

Shri B. Gopala Reddi, President, Andhra P.C.C. pointed out that even after years of training, it was difficult for the South Indians to use Hindi in debates and conferences; and so the idea of enforcing, at this stage, the use of Hindi was not acceptable to them.

In reply, Shri Mehta suggested that Congressmen should try to act upon the resolution which had been accepted and, once they take to it seriously, they will be able to overcome initial difficulties.

Shri Mehta pointed out that some M.Ps. visited many states and inspected the accounts kept by the P.C.Cs. Reports submitted by them did not give a happy picture. It was desirable to evolve a proper system of accounting and some members who were experts in the line, might offer their services and suggest a system acceptable to all committees. Friends who help the Congress financially expect that accounts should be properly kept. Every D.C.C. and Taluk Congress Committee also should maintain its accounts properly.

With regard to the recommendations from the P.C.Cs regarding selection of candidates, for election to Legislatures, both Central and State, it was pointed out that some P.C.Cs sent recommendations at the last moment and it was well nigh impossible for the Parliamentary Board to give its sanction in those circumstances. The process of selection should start immediately a vacancy was created and the recommendation must be made in good time and in proper form. It was further pointed out that the P.C.Cs failed also to forward their recommendations for consideration by the Working Committee before nominations were made to the A.I.C.C. in terms of the new Congress Constitution.

Shri Algurai Shastri, President, Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee, pointed out that the difficulties with regard to the

question of language were there. Introduction of Hindi by slow stages in areas, where it had not been in practice in any period, should be made through proper technique and the people of those areas should be encouraged to start learning the same. This could better be facilitated by the introduction of Hindi in the Services and the Government also might start using Hindi in their correspondence and reports.

With regard to organisational problems, Shri Shastri suggested that the General Secretaries should divide the districts in the country amongst themselves and visit the District Congress Committees by turns. It would thereby bring them in intimate contact with the subordinate Congress organisations and at the same time, give them a clear grasp of the local situation. The administrative machinery is stereotyped and a real solution is hard to find. It has been noticed that when questions of policy are determined, the Organisation is not taken into account. Some machinery should be evolved to avoid clash between the two sections—organisational and Parliamentary—and the interests of the people can properly be looked after, if effective co-ordination is established between the two.

In reply to a query, Shri S. N. Agarwal pointed out that the money for Congress work should come from people at large and not from rich men's pockets. Rs. 10, which has to be paid by the active members, along with their membership fee of Re. 1, will be kept in the reserve fund of the P.C.C. in the State wherefrom it is collected.

Seth Govind Das, President, Mahakoshal P.C.C., next addressed the gathering. He suggested that the first step to organise Congress properly would be to take note of the representations received from Congressmen regarding people's grievances. Congress should have the initiative in taking up public causes and the credit of bringing about a solution should go to Congress and not to other parties. Sometimes it has been noticed that the Government has yielded to active opposition and agitations started by non-Congress elements, bringing thereby discredit to the administration.

According to him, Seva Dal work in the States could not be properly organised due to lack of funds.

Dr. Khedkar, President, Vidarbha P.C.C., pointed out that in Madhya Pradesh it has been found that the Government policy regarding imposition of taxes and other settlement operations was determined without any chance being given to the P.C.Cs to give expression to their viewpoint. The status of the P.C.C. was thereby adversely affected. He further suggested that the P.C.C. Presidents should be invited to the Congress Working Committee meetings by turns so that they might keep the Congress High Command posted with relevant facts. Dr. M. C. Davar from Delhi pointed out that the election machinery must be set right. Complications and disputes are carried on endlessly and the process must be simplified.

It was pointed out by Shri Ram Niwas Sharma from Madhya Bharat, that the D.C.Cs. found themselves in a helpless position when the Ministers took no notice of the representations sent to them. Generally, complaints were sent back from the Government to the persons against whom the complaints were made. The enquiry brought no result. If the Congress was to become really effective, the organisation must have its voice felt so as to influence the Government activities and it must be in a position to give a definite lead to the people by sincerely helping them in the removal of their grievances.

It was further pointed out that anti-Congress elements had been carrying on propaganda against the Government and in doing so used all forms of abusive language thereby agitating the public mind. Some effective machinery had to be evolved to counteract this.

A meeting of the office-bearers of the P.C.Cs. and D.C.Cs. was held again at 9-30 a.m. on the 23rd January, 1954 at Kalyani.

Shri Balavantray Mehta at the outset pointed out to the members present that they should discuss matters of common interest and suggest measures as to how the organisational work

could be improved. He made special reference to Seva Dal, youths and women's organisations and suggested that proper contacts should be maintained with young men so as to enthuse them to join the Congress and carry out its constructive programme.

The Congress President, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, then addressed the meeting. He referred to the proceedings of the meeting held on 22-1-54 and suggested that the moot question before the Conference should be what should Congressmen do? Complaints had been made against the Government with respect to their attitude towards public grievances. It had been suggested that the prestige of Congressmen was adversely affected by the lack of interest shown by the Governments in taking prompt measures to deal with public complaints. The Congress President pointed out that this was a wrong way of looking at the question. If Congressmen really applied themselves to the task of making Congress Committees active and effective, the organisation was sure to become strong. Congressmen should not be dependent on the Government but should try to work through their organisation. In many places, Congress Committees have practically ceased to exist and it served no useful purpose in trying to shield the organisational weakness by blaming the Government. Every Congressman should ask himself the question: what am I to do? Problems were there and they had to deal with them. There must be earnestness about it. Reference had been made to public sufferings. It was the bounden duty of Congressmen to engage themselves in the task of mitigating the sufferings of the people. The problem was first of all, to properly diagnose and then try for its solution. In case it was found that there were some excesses, the Government might be approached for remedy.

“ Relations between the Government and the Congress organisation raises a question of great importance; and already we have given indications regarding the advisability of setting up a regular machinery for the maintenance of proper contact between them. But, no rigid rules can be prescribed. Government must have its own responsibility and cannot be divested of its charge.

Complaints are there and a procedure has to be followed which takes some time to reach a final decision. In a democratic set-up responsibility cannot be laid on the shoulders of anyone. In the British days, the administrative authorities did things in their own way. The same cannot hold good today. Naturally, the process has lengthened because of appeals and counter appeals before the disputes are settled. It is a peculiar practice with some people that they approach the Governments with recommendations forgetting that these attempts to influence the Governments affect their efficiency adversely." In this connection, the Congress President made a reference to his own experience as the President of the Allahabad Municipality and stated that he made it a point to look with disfavour on any attempt made to influence administrative work through recommendations.

"Of course, there should be regular contact between the Congress organisation and the Government for mutual consultation and exchange of ideas and opinions. It depends upon a practice and technique and not on prescribed rules. The actual problem lies elsewhere. We must recognise the fact that the world is changing and we must adopt ourselves to the changing technique evolved out of a proper evaluation of things. Otherwise we turn ourselves into so many critics with no constructive suggestions to offer, as for example, the opposition parties, like the P.S.P. who indulge in baseless criticism and raise false slogans. Office-bearers of the Congress Committees also fail to recognise the fact that times have changed.

"The idea of carrying on agitation and criticising the Government helps neither the cause they work for, nor the organisation nor the people whom they claim to represent. It is strange that the success of the Congress in the last General Elections has put us in a difficult position. It has crippled our strength and stamina for work. It is essential that Congressmen should fully realise that in the changed circumstances, they have to play a new role. Instead of frittering away their energies in vague criticism against the Government, they should take to the constructive way of thinking and try to enliven the organisation. In the last General Elections,

the Congress could succeed only because a network of organisations, active and lively, grew up in all parts of the country which took upon themselves the election propaganda and organisational work. Their enthusiasm seemed to fade away after success was achieved in the elections. We should take stock of the situation and try to chalk out a programme of our own."

Shri Atulya Ghosh, President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, pointed out the difficulties which the P.C.Cs. felt in having their accounts audited by Chartered Accountants. He suggested that the idea of getting accounts audited in this way was not helpful to the Congress organisation. The Congress fund was received from donors some of whom may not like to have their names divulged. There were many other technicalities, which it was hard on the part of the P.C.Cs. to account for, in the proper manner. The best thing would be for the P.C.Cs. to have their accounts audited internally.

The Congress President suggested that persons with understanding and sympathy might be employed for this purpose and a scheme, on the lines suggested by Shri Atulya Ghosh, could, with profit, be worked out.

The Congress President continued his speech relating to the organisational problems and pointed out that women and youths were also having their conferences along with the Congress Session. Women must play a very important role in social services. In the last General Elections, it had been remarkably noticed that they worked more effectively than men by going from door to door asking for support from the electorate. "This practice of approaching people in their houses brings about better results than addressing people through large meetings. Youths also have to be brought closer to the organisation. They are not in a happy mood. It seems they feel it difficult to grasp things in their true perspective. It is by persistent efforts that the Congress organisation can persuade them to understand their responsibility. Instead of indulging in tall talk, they should take up the problems constructively and help national development. With earnest efforts this process may be accelerated. The idea of taking some

resolve to regulate our own activities turns the mind inward and immediately the constructive phase comes into operation. There is a mental psychosis which our students are seemingly suffering from. To get out of this rut is indeed very difficult. A very patient and intelligent approach is required to develop a conscious national mind. After independence, strange forces have been unleashed and, no doubt, this attitude is but a resultant factor conditioned by these forces. If Congressmen take to organising themselves earnestly, they are sure to bring about a change in the social behaviour thereby influencing the youths as well."

The Congress President further laid emphasis on the question of publicity and pointed out that the Communist Party had a special knack of organising propaganda through songs, dances, appeals to the village folks through cinemas and other forms of publicity. The Five Year Plan had started publicity work and the message of the Plan had to be carried to the farthest villages, and the Congress organisation could possibly help in the matter.

Shri Gadadhar Dutta (Orissa) asked: "How can we account for the weakening of the Congress organisation." He pointed out that the gulf between Congressmen as such and those who accepted office was getting wider. It was noticed that Ministers got more publicity while Congress chiefs were ignored.

The Congress President deplored this form of complex over-coming the mental attitude of Congressmen and suggested that regular contact among Congressmen themselves would wear out the differences. The Congress President next touched on the problem of removing illiteracy and suggested that attempts should be made to educate people through pamphlets published in a language intelligible to the common man. In other countries, circulation of papers was very wide because the common people found it easy to understand the language used. There was a growing apprehension that the over enthusiasm with which the case for Hindi was being stressed by some would nullify the purpose for which the propaganda was made. "We should be careful about it, and make the language as easy as possible."

With regard to Bhoodan, the Congress President pointed out that the problem of land distribution was a prominent question. Bhoodan aimed at solving the problem in a peaceful way. Congressmen had already been advised to associate themselves with this movement and it was desirable that they should do so with earnestness.

With regard to the employment of workers on paid basis, the Congress President suggested that the local Congress Committees should take the matter up and try to find solutions according to their resources instead of looking for extraneous help. Guidance of the P. C. C. had to be sought in the matter.

INDIANS IN CEYLON.

There are about 10 lakhs of Indians in Ceylon. So long as the British were ruling Ceylon, the problem of Indians there remained dormant. On the attainment of Ceylonese independence and the passing of the new Citizenship Act in 1948 it became a live issue between India and Ceylon. There were about 2,30,000 applications for citizenship from over 8½ lakhs of Indians pending before the Ceylon Government authorities who showed no eagerness to accept them. A liberal application of the Citizenship Act would secure citizenship rights to almost all the applicants. As it stood, a vast majority of Indians were disenfranchised. During the Commonwealth Premier's Conference the then Prime Minister of Ceylon Mr. Dudley Senanayake had some talks with Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the question of the registration of persons of Indian origin under the Ceylon citizenship laws. These talks could not however be conclusive. To continue these talks Sir John Kotelawala, the present Prime Minister of Ceylon, visited Delhi in the middle of January 1954. Sir John Kotelawala and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had detailed talks on January 16, 17 and 18, and as a result of these discussions certain proposals were framed by them, which were to be placed before their respective Governments. These proposals were :

1. Both Governments are determined to suppress illicit immigration traffic between the two countries and will take all possible steps against it in close co-operation with each other. Periodical meetings between high police authorities on either side of the Palk Straits may be held and information relating to illicit movements exchanged.

2. The Government of Ceylon proposes to undertake the preparation of a register of all adult residents who are not already on the electoral register and will maintain that register up to date. When the registration is completed, any person not so registered will, if his mother tongue is an Indian language, be presumed

to be an illicit immigrant from India and be liable to deportation and the Indian High Commissioner will extend all facilities for implementation of such deportation.

3. The Government of Ceylon may proceed with the Immigrants and Emigrants Amendment Bill which throws on the accused the onus of proof that he is not an illicit immigrant but before any person is prosecuted in accordance with this provision, the Government of Ceylon will give an opportunity to the Indian High Commissioner to satisfy himself that a 'prima facie' case exists for such prosecution, the final decision being that of the Government of Ceylon.

4. The registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act will be expedited and every endeavour will be made to complete the disposal of pending applications within two years.

5. All persons registered under this Act may be placed by the Government of Ceylon on a separate electoral register, particularly in view of the fact that the bulk of the citizens do not speak the language of the area in which they reside. The arrangement will last for a period of 10 years. The Government of Ceylon agrees that in certain constituencies, where the number of registered citizen voters is not likely to exceed 250, they shall be put on the national register.

6. Citizens whose names are placed in the separate electoral register will be entitled to elect a certain number of members to the House of Representatives, the number to be determined after consultation with the Prime Minister of India. The Government of Ceylon expects to complete their action in this respect before the present Parliament is dissolved in 1957.

7. In regard to those persons who are not so registered it would be open to them to register themselves as Indian citizens, if they so choose, at the office of the Indian High Commissioner in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Constitution of India. It is noted that Ceylon proposes to offer special inducements to encourage such registration and that these inducements

will be announced from time to time. The Government of India will offer administrative and similar facilities to all persons of Indian origin to register themselves as Indian citizens under the Constitution of India, if they so choose, and will also give publicity to the availability of such facilities.

8. Both Prime Ministers are desirous of continuing the present practice of close consultation between the two Governments in matters affecting their mutual interests.

The proposals were ratified by the two Governments. But as efforts were made to implement the same in Ceylon some difficulties arose and it was felt that the agreement was not being fully implemented. The Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon wrote to the Government of India about the difficulties which he was experiencing. There was correspondence between the Government of India and the Government of Ceylon and ultimately Sir John Kotelawala again decided to come to Delhi to talk over the whole matter.

Sir John Kotelawala and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru again had detailed talks on the 9th and 10th October 1954. They issued a joint communique, after their talks, the text of which is as follows :

A conference was held on October 9 and 10 in New Delhi to consider certain problems relating to persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon. The conference was attended by a delegation from Ceylon led by the Prime Minister of Ceylon and a delegation led by the Prime Minister of India. The conference discussed these problems fully and frankly and in a spirit of friendly and co-operative endeavour, to overcome the difficulties that had arisen.

There was a basic difference of opinion between the two delegations in regard to the status of people of Indian origin in Ceylon. The Ceylon delegation stated that it has always been the position of Ceylon, as it still is, that such persons continue to be citizens or nationals of India unless and until they are accepted as Ceylon citizens. The Ceylon delegation could not, therefore, accept the position that any of these persons are Stateless. The

Indian delegation stated that only those persons of Indian origin who are already in possession of Indian passports and passes or who have been registered at the Indian High Commission under Article 8 of the Constitution of India are Indian citizens. Other persons of Indian origin who are not either Ceylon citizens or Indian citizens are, therefore, at present Stateless. It was further stated that there could be no automatic conferment of Indian nationality on persons belonging to this category.

JANUARY AGREEMENT

The conference also considered the Indo-Ceylon agreement of January 18, 1954 and misunderstandings that had arisen in regard to its implementation. In that agreement it was provided that the registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act would be expedited, and every endeavour would be made to complete the disposal of pending applications within two years. It was further stated that in regard to persons not so registered it would be open to them to register themselves as Indian citizens if they so chose at the office of the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon in accordance with the provisions of Article 8 of the Constitution of India. It was further provided that the Government of India would offer administrative and similar facilities to all persons of Indian origin to register themselves as Indian citizens under the Constitution of India, if they so chose, and would also give publicity to the availability of such facilities.

While these two processes of registration have continued, the pace of such registration has been slow and certain difficulties have arisen. Complaints have been made by both sides about certain procedures which came in the way of full implementation of the agreement and have created misunderstandings.

As there appeared to be a basic difference in the approach of the two countries to the problem of the status of persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon, it was decided that the practical course was to recognise this difference and to proceed as rapidly as possible with the two processes of registration as Ceylon citizens or as Indian citizens, and thus to reduce the number of those persons who at present were not accepted either as Ceylon citizens or as

Indian citizens. In this way the number of such persons should be progressively reduced and would be more amenable to further consideration at a later stage. It was recognized by both Governments that it was undesirable to have a large group of persons who could not be accepted as citizens of either country. It was agreed, therefore, that these processes of registration should be expedited.

It was agreed that in regard to those persons who are not registered as Ceylon citizens it would be open to them to register themselves as Indian citizens if they so chose. The Indian High Commissioner will entertain applications made to him for registration as Indian citizens under Article 8 of the Constitution of India and will grant every facility for this purpose subject to satisfying himself that the applicants have the prescribed qualifications under the Indian law. Applications will not be refused on the ground that an applicant had earlier applied to the authorities in Ceylon for registration as a citizen under the law of Ceylon.

REGISTRATION PROCEDURE

The procedure for registration as citizens of Ceylon will be simplified as far as possible, within the terms of the law, so as to complete as far as may be practicable, the disposal of applications within the time mentioned in the Indo-Ceylon agreement of 1954. The Ceylon Government will examine with a view to their withdrawal, any executive instructions of a restrictive nature, issued by the Ceylon authorities which result in the rejection of such applications on purely technical grounds.

The Ceylon Government will resume the practice of issuing identity certificates for travel abroad to all persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon whose applications for Ceylon citizenship are pending. The issue of such certificates will be governed by the rules and conditions which apply to Ceylon citizens. Exchange facilities for remittances of money out of Ceylon by such persons will be the same as those available to Ceylon citizens.

The Indian High Commissioner will issue identity certificates for purposes of travel to persons of Indian origin whose applications for registration as Indian citizens are pending before him.

The Indian authorities will provide travel facilities to Indian citizens and the Ceylon Government will give such persons remittance facilities as before.

EMPLOYMENT

The Governments of the two countries earnestly hope that the steps mentioned above will in the time contemplated, i.e., 2 years, resolve to a substantial degree the problem of persons of Indian origin resident in Ceylon by their registration either as Ceylon citizens or as Indian citizens. At the end of this period and when the registrations under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act are completed, the position will be reviewed with a view to deciding what further steps may be needed to deal with the problem of the residue that may be left. The Ceylon Government for its part states that it will in addition have to consider what steps may be necessary at that stage to safeguard the interests of its own citizens in regard to such matters as employment. It was stated on behalf of the Government of India that while every effort should be made to promote employment, as stated by the Ceylon Government, this should not involve, in their opinion, any coercion or victimisation of those persons of Indian origin who may still remain unregistered either as Ceylon citizens or Indian citizens. The measure of success attained in dealing with this problem will depend largely on a friendly and co-operative approach of all parties and every effort should be made to encourage this friendly approach.

It was stated on behalf of the Ceylon Government that it intends in the meanwhile to introduce a scheme enabling persons of Indian origin now in employment in Ceylon who may hereafter acquire Indian citizenship to continue in such employment till the age of 55 when they may be required to leave the country and that it has under consideration a scheme for the payment, under such conditions as may be prescribed of gratuities to

such persons when they leave the country. Such persons will also be given social and medical benefits no less favourable than those which may be provided for workers of the same category who are Ceylon citizens.

The two Governments will exchange information regarding lists of registration etc., from time to time to ensure effective co-operation in carrying out these arrangements.

The General Secretary of the Congress, Shri Balvantray Mehta, visited Ceylon from 12th to 15th October, 1954.

CHANGES IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATION ACT

For sometime past the Central Government and some of the State Governments were experiencing difficulties regarding the working of the Indian Constitution. This question was considered in the Working Committee meeting dated 4th April 1954, and they decided to appoint the undernoted Sub-Committee to study the question of changes in the Indian Constitution and the People's Representation Act and to suggest necessary amendments :

1. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
2. Shri Nabakrushna Chaudhury
3. Shri Khandubhai Desai
4. Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant
5. Shri Takhtmal Jain
6. Shri Deokinandan Narayan
7. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair
8. Shri U. S. Malliah
9. Shri Balvantray Mehta
- and 10. Shri S. N. Agarwal

The Sub-Committee held its deliberations and presented an interim report to the Working Committee on 22nd May. The Working Committee considered the amendments to the Indian Constitution proposed by the Constitution Sub-Committee and accepted the following suggestions :

ARTICLE 1 —*Territories specified in Parts A, B and C of the First Schedule* :—In view of the fact that the States Reorganisation Commission have been making an over-all survey of the different problems affecting the States, it was not desirable at this stage to suggest any change in the status of the States in Parts A, B, C.

ARTICLE 3—*Alteration of areas or boundaries of existing States:—*
Bombay's suggestion to vest power in the President to transfer certain enclaves from one State to another in consultation with the States concerned was acceptable.

ARTICLE 15—*Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste etc. :—*It was pointed out that Harijans and minority communities experience considerable difficulties in securing residential accommodation on rent. It is, therefore, suggested that Article 15 may be examined and, if necessary, an amendment may be made in clause 2 of the article.

ARTICLE 19—*Protection of rights regarding freedom of speech etc.—*The Sub-Committee feels that the present Article 19 (2) needs certain amendments in order to curb scurrilous propaganda and the yellow Press. It will, however, be desirable to await the recommendations of the Press Commission.

ARTICLE 19 (6)—The Sub-Committee feels that this article should be so amended as to enable Parliament or the State Legislature, as the case may be, to enact any law for the promotion of cottage, rural and small-scale industries or promotion of employment.

ARTICLE 31—*Right to property :—*This article should be enlarged to cover any law providing for temporarily taking over possession or control of any property for the purpose of its preservation or better management or supervision or for the purposes of employment or production or prices.

The article requires further amendment to the effect that "the amount of compensation or the principles on which and the manner in which the compensation is determined and given" shall not be challenged before any court of law.

ARTICLE 102—*Disqualifications for membership of either House of Parliament :—*The office of profit should be elaborately defined. Law Ministry may be contacted and be requested to formulate a clear definition of the office of profit in connection with the consideration of the amendment to the Representation of the People Act.

ARTICLE 103—*Decisions on questions as to disqualifications of members of Parliament* :—This clause refers to disqualification to which a member of Parliament may be subjected after his election. Article 103 is no remedy for a member who was initially disqualified. It is necessary that a provision should be made for such cases. This clause may, therefore, be suitably amended by inserting the words “is or has been subjected to.”

ARTICLE 179—*Resignation of the offices of the Speaker and Chairman* :—Bihar’s suggestion regarding the tendering of resignation by the Speaker or the Chairman to the Governor in the event of the office of the Deputy Speaker or the Deputy Chairman being vacant may be accepted.

ARTICLE 191 — *Disqualifications for membership of State Legislature* :—May be considered like Article 103 along with the consideration of the amendment to the Representation of the People Act.

ARTICLE 192 — *Decisions on questions as to disqualifications of members of State Legislature* :—Same as suggested in Article 103.

ARTICLE 226 :—*Powers of High Courts* :—Right to issue directions, orders or writs should be restricted to cases in which there has been a substantial failure of justice or where public interest so requires. Delete “for other purposes” from the last sentence of Article 226 (1).

ARTICLE 227—*Powers of Superintendence of High Courts over Tribunals* :—Powers of superintendence over tribunals by High Courts should be curtailed.

ARTICLE 286—*Restrictions as to imposition of tax on the sale or purchase of goods* :—This should be amended to make it clear that a State shall have the power to impose or authorise imposition of a tax on the sale or purchase of goods only in cases where such sale or purchase with all its legal incidents takes place within the State and not outside.

ARTICLE 311—*Dismissal or removal of Government Servants* :—Add a separate para in clause (1): No order passed under Section 311 (1) shall be challenged in any court of law. Government may,

however, by rules provide for the appointment of a Board to which such cases may be referred before passing final orders.

In sub-clause 2, the words "reduced in rank" should be deleted so as to read as follows:

"No such person as aforesaid shall be dismissed or removed until he has been given reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him."

It was suggested that the provision in sub-clause 2 for giving a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to persons dismissed or removed from the service is sufficient and does not require fresh opportunity to be given to him to show cause.

ARTICLE 316—*Composition of Public Service Commissions*:—In proviso to clause 1, delete "as nearly as may be one half" and substitute "not more than half" so as to read as follows:

"Provided that not more than half of the members of every Public Service Commission shall be persons who at the dates of their respective appointments have held office for at least ten years either under the Government of India or under the Government of a State.."

The Committee was also of the opinion that provision may be made so that Ad Hoc members may also be appointed to a Public Service Commission.

ARTICLE 320—*Function of Public Service Commissions*:—Omit sub-clause (c) from clause 3 of Article 320 reading as follows:

"On all disciplinary matters affecting a person service under the Government of India or the Government of a State in a civil capacity, including memorials of position relating to such matters."

The Committee also was of the opinion that the list showing the distribution of powers between the Central and State Legislatures, divided into Union, State and Concurrent Lists, should be re-examined in the light of the opinion gathered from the Central

Ministers regarding the difficulties experienced by them in working on the existing arrangements, specially relating to Education, Health, Commerce and Industry, Finance and Natural Resources.

These suggestions were forwarded to the P. C. Cs. and the State Governments and their comments were invited. The working Committee considered this matter again at their meeting dated 24th July. The replies received from the P. C. Cs. and State Governments were taken into consideration. Articles 19 (ii); 19 (6), 31, 226, 286, 311 and 316 were specially considered :

“ With regard to Article 31, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant suggested that the judgments in the Sholapur case and the Land Development Act in West Bengal regarding the acquisition of land for refugees should be specially studied ; the Law Officers should examine their implications and see what form of amendments should be introduced to avoid legal difficulties in enacting law on these lines. It was felt that the article as it stands today impedes progressive legislation in public interest.

The Congress President pointed out that attempts should be made to bring about changes in the Constitution only wherever it was found absolutely necessary and the proposed changes should be based on a realistic appraisal of the social conditions which are sought to be brought about.

Shri Nabakrushna Chowdhury raised the question of the apparent anomalies in the present Constitution relating to the clauses governing the Directive Principles as distinct from those relating to fundamental rights. It was noticed that the States have been asked to carry out the objectives mentioned in the Chapter on Directive Principles but they find themselves faced with legal objections whenever they try to carry the same into effect on the ground that they come into conflict with the Fundamental Rights. Shri Chowdhury pointed out that an attempt should be made to remedy the situation.

Dr. B. C. Roy observed that language relating to the Directive Principles was vague and that it should be made definite and clear,

The Congress President pointed out that the Essential Powers Act was an important matter and immediate action had to be taken with regard to the same. In that connection, some amendments on specific issues could be introduced. It would be advisable to bring all the amendments in a bunch so that the members may have a full picture before they consider the same.

Dr. Katju suggested that in articles relating to the appointment of temporary judges, their right of practice etc. there was more or less unanimity and it would not be difficult to introduce necessary changes."

The Committee was of the opinion that Articles 31, 226, 227, 286 and 311 (2) and 316 should be considered and suitable proposals be formulated and examined by the Law Department, Government of India, for necessary action.

The above recommendations were forwarded to the Ministries of Law and Home, Government of India, and the matter is being examined there. It is expected that a bill suggesting amendments to the Constitution will be placed before Parliament at its next sitting.

As regards changes in the Representation of the People Act, the General Secretary in a circular requested the Pradesh Congress Committees to appoint a small committee of experts to study the question and let us have a report of their findings as soon as possible so that the same may be considered by the Sub-Committee appointed by the Working Committee. Some of the State Governments and P. C. Cs. have forwarded their recommendations and they are being studied by a sub-committee of members of Parliament specially appointed for this purpose by the A.I.C.C. in consultation with the Congress Parliamentary Board.

REORGANISATION OF STATES

The Government of India appointed a three-member Commission on reorganisation of States with Mr. Fazl Ali as its Chairman. Its other two members are Pandit H. N. Kunzru and Sardar K. M. Panikkar. The Congress at Kalyani welcomed the appointment of this Commission. The Commission drew up a programme to tour the country and invited the views of organisations and individuals to be presented to them in the shape of memoranda.

Certain representations were made by P. C. Cs. and individual Congressmen. The Working Committee thereupon considered the question again at their meeting dated 4th April 1954 and adopted the following resolution :

“The Working Committee invite the attention of the Congress Committees and Congressmen to their resolution regarding re-organisation of States passed in May 1953. The Committee in this resolution emphasised that ‘the re-organisation of States can be successfully brought about only by the largest measure of co-operation and goodwill of all concerned.’ It was also noted with regretful surprise that there was occasional tendency for a State legislature or a Pradesh Congress Committee to act in a manner which was hostile to other States and other P. C. Cs. It was also laid down that this was completely opposed to the manner in which Congress Committees and Congressmen should approach any problem.

“The Committee further desire to invite the attention of the country to the latest resolution passed by the annual Session of the Congress at Kalyani in January 1954, where the Congress had pointed out that ‘the problem of re-organisation of States can only be considered satisfactorily in a dispassionate and objective manner and therefore an agitational approach is not

only not necessary now, but is likely to prove harmful and delay a satisfactory solution.' It, therefore, desired the nation to help in the solution of the problem by encouraging a co-operative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination. Congressmen in particular were asked to avoid public controversy, specially among themselves, on this issue. This was particularly considered necessary when the situation in the country demanded national unity and combined effort to build up the nation.

"References are often made to the A. I. C. C. and advice sought about the approach that Congress Committees and Congressmen should adopt in regard to the manner of representing their views before the States Reorganisation Commission. In the opinion of the Committee, all Congress Committees and Congressmen should have full freedom to represent their points of view before the State Reorganisation Commission. In case of any difference of opinion, the minority in any Congress Committee should be free to represent its views before the Commission.

"Now that the States Reorganisation Commission is devoting itself to the examination of this problem, it is expected that Congress Committees and Congressmen will not participate or carry on agitation on this matter, nor will they associate with other parties in making joint representations to the Commission. Congressmen should not join in a common platform with other political parties in the expression of views by Congressmen on this question. Congressmen cannot, in the very nature of things, carry on public agitation against each other on this subject.

"Congress Legislature Parties should avoid moving any resolution on this subject in the Legislature concerned and they should not support any resolution moved by other parties on the same subject. Congress members of the legislatures, if they so desire, may individually or collectively present their case to the Commission in the normal course."

The Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee and the Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee applied for exemption from the above resolution. The Working Committee thereupon

again considered this question on May 22. The local situation in Karnatak and Maharashtra was reviewed. After considering all aspects of the question, the Working Committee adopted the following resolution :

“ The Working Committee heard Shri B. S. Hirey and Shri S. Nijalingappa in regard to the presentation of memoranda to the States Reorganisation Commission. They stated that they completely agreed with and accepted the resolution on the reorganisation of States passed by the Working Committee on 5th April 1954. But, in view of their previous commitments, they requested permission of the Working Committee to present a joint memorandum in each case to the State Reorganisation Commission. Shri Hirey stated that the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad had functioned for some time past with a view specially to drawing up such a memorandum. There was no dispute about the contents of such a memorandum and the Pradesh Congress Committee fully agreed with the substance of that memorandum. It would be difficult for them at this stage to withdraw from the position they had taken up previously. All they desired was to present this joint memorandum and not to carry on any agitation or function otherwise on behalf of the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad. If, however, any of them was required, as a consequence of the presentation of the memorandum, to give evidence before the Commission, this would naturally follow. Apart from this, they would strictly abide by the directions in the Working Committee resolution.

“ Shri Nijalingappa stated that, for sometime past, a joint drafting committee had been constituted in Karnatak to present the case for a Karnatak Province. He requested permission to present this memorandum to the Commission. Otherwise, the drafting Committee had no other function. He accepted entirely the resolution of the Working Committee.

“ In view of the special circumstances in regard to the two cases mentioned above and the assurances given by Shri Hirey and Shri Nijalingappa, the Working Committee decided as special

cases to give permission for the presentation of the joint memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission.

“The Committee would like to lay stress again on the directions given in the previous resolution on the subject of reorganisation of States and would request all Congressmen to act up to them.”

Reports about the activities of Congress Committees and individual Congressmen came pouring in regarding their activities *vis-a-vis* the States Reorganisation Commission. The Congress President thereupon addressed the following letter to Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees :

“I am writing to you about a matter of grave importance which has troubled me greatly. This is the growing agitation in regard to the formation of new States or the dismemberment of old States or other changes in the present boundaries of our States. We know that there is considerable feeling in this matter and the question of linguistic States has been before us for many years. The Congress considered this matter repeatedly and passed a resolution at its Hyderabad session, which you will no doubt remember. This resolution laid stress not only on the linguistic and cultural aspect of this problem, but on others also and, most of all, on the vital importance of nothing being done which might impair the unity and progress of India.

“Subsequently, the Government of India appointed a high powered Commission, which is functioning now. The Congress Working Committee has issued directions to Congressmen as to how they should function in regard to this Commission. They have been given the largest freedom to express their views individually or in groups. It has even been stated that the minority in a Committee or Party can express its views in opposition to those of a majority. There could be no greater freedom in this respect. But the Working Committee has made it perfectly clear that there must be no public agitation by Congressmen and this question of the Reorganisation of States should be considered calmly and dispassionately.

“ I regret to find that these directions of the Committee have not been observed, as they should be, and some Congressmen have taken an aggressive part sometimes in these agitations.

“ This problem was originally largely confined to South India. Now, it appears that every part of India has caught this infection and all kinds of astonishing demands are being put forward and hotly contested. Many people seem to suffer from a passion for bigness. Naturally the bigness is at the expense of somebody else and conflicts arise. In these conflicts charges and counter-charges are brought and, sometimes, threats held out. One would imagine that independent and hostile countries were dealing with each other. People of one State not only threaten the people of another State but also run them down and refer to them as if they were foreigners and intruders. The whole past history of our struggle for freedom and of the Congress movement is forgotten. Even our present Constitution is ignored.

“ This is an impossible situation for Congressmen. It has been the pride and the virtue of the Congress to have laboured for the unity of India and of the Indian people. We built up a mighty organisation where no difference was made between men of different States or religions or class or caste. Have we fallen so low now that we should forget the main purpose and basis of the Congress and allow these disruptive tendencies to flourish? It is time that every Congressman pulled himself up and put this question to himself and to his colleagues.

“ We want the problem of the reorganisation of States to be tackled calmly, dispassionately and with a view to further the unity and progress of India and the wishes of her people. That purpose will be negatived if these acrimonious agitations, accompanied by threats, and mutual condemnation are carried on. Does anyone believe that he is furthering his own cause by acting in this manner? Speaking for myself, I react strongly against him. Any such cause, which requires violence and threats to support it, is likely to be weak.

“In any event, I want to make it perfectly clear to all our Congress Committees and to our comrades in the Congress that this is a challenge to the very basis of which we stand. We are not opposed to a proper redistribution of States taking into consideration all the factors involved. Let us proceed about it, by all means. But we are entirely opposed to the manner in which this subject is being tackled in many places and to the agitations that are being built up around it, sometimes real and sometimes *artificial*. We are entirely opposed to anything that sets one Indian *against another or one State against another* or weakens the idea of India's unity. We, as Congressmen, are also opposed to anything that weakens the Congress organisation.

“I call upon you, therefore, to do your utmost to put a stop to Congressmen atleast participating in these undesirable activities and agitations. We can no longer be passive lookers-on to something that we consider bad for the country.”

The Commission is continuing its work and is expected to give its report by June 1955.

THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGES AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

During the Subjects Committee meeting at Kalyani the following requisition was received regarding Hindi *vis-a-vis* all-India services examinations :

“ As is laid down in the Constitution of India, Hindi is accepted as the National Language of our country and it has been also laid down that after a period of 15 years Hindi will be fully adopted as State Language in all respects. More than four years have passed and no definite signs of a successful change-over are in sight. Of course, in many States steps are being taken for the spread of Hindi in schools and colleges and rules are prescribed enjoining Government officers to pass examinations in Hindi. Still, however, Hindi does not seem to gather the necessary momentum which it ought to have to fulfil the pledge undertaken in the Constitution. Looking from the practical point of view the crux of the language problem is in the administrative requirement of the State. This meeting of the A. I. C. C. is of the opinion that so long as Hindi is not accepted as the main language in which the all-India services including the I. A. S. and I. P. S. should be required to give their examinations, this problem will not receive the paramount and earnest attention that it deserves and the temptation to stick to the English language, which is doing untold harm by arresting the free development of national soul, will not be removed from the minds of the people.

„ This meeting of the A. I. C. C., therefore, desires and hopes that the Government of India will lose no time in announcing that all examinations for the all-India services will be henceforth held in Hindi so that regional languages may properly thrive and it becomes possible for the National Language to occupy the much belated but natural and privileged position of honour that is its own.”

In the Subjects Committee meeting the Congress President announced that he had received a requisition to consider the question of language in competitive examinations. He said that it would not be possible to consider the requisition at the present sitting of the Subjects Committee. He said that he would be prepared to consider the question at the next meeting of the A.I.C.C.

At the meeting of the Working Committee held on 4th and 5th April 1954 the following note was placed regarding the requisition received at the Kalyani Session.

“It is true that Hindi must be developed as the language of the Union within the period of fifteen years. But it will not be desirable to introduce Hindi as the compulsory medium in competitive examinations for all-India services at this stage. During the transitional period, Hindi should be made one of the important subjects in departmental examinations of all-India services. It may also be introduced as one of the compulsory subjects in the competitive examinations provided that students whose mother tongue is Hindi are asked to choose any one of the other modern Indian languages as a compulsory subject.

“In due course, regional languages will become the media of instruction in schools and colleges. Ultimately, in order to give equal and fair chances to students belonging to different regions, it will be proper to allow students to choose the regional language as the medium for answering papers in all-India competitive examinations. If English continues to be the medium for such examinations, regional languages will not succeed as media of instruction in schools and colleges. Most of the parents cherish the ambition that their sons may one day succeed in the all-India services examinations. It is, therefore, but natural that they like their sons to study through the English medium so long as it continues to be the exclusive medium for competitive examinations.

“Conducting the all-India competitive examinations through the media of regional languages, with Hindi and English as compulsory subjects, should not be very difficult. Uniformity of standards could be ensured through the modern system of joint

consultations between examiners. Higher studies in Hindi and English could be arranged after the selection of candidates, during their training period. It will be desirable to get this whole question examined thoroughly by the Home Ministry in consultation with the members of the Union Public Service Commission.'

The Working Committee considered this note as well as the requisition and adopted the following resolution regarding examinations for all-India services :

" 1. In view of the fact that the Constitution of India has recognised Hindi as the all-India national language and has fixed a period of 15 years for the transition to Hindi for official all-India purposes, it is desirable that progressive steps should be taken to make Hindi the language of examinations for the all-India services. These steps should be so phased as not to cast any undue burden on the candidates from any part of the country where the regional language is other than Hindi. While Hindi as well as the regional languages must be given every encouragement to develop, it must be remembered that a knowledge of foreign languages, and more especially English, will continue to be essential for persons in the higher services.

" 2. The Working Committee recommend that progressively examinations for the all-India services should be held in Hindi, English and the principal regional languages and candidates may be given the option to use any of these languages for the purpose of examinations. In the event of a candidate choosing Hindi or a regional language for the purpose of his examination, he should pass separately in English also.

" All candidates who have been successful in these all-India examinations will have to pass a test in Hindi at an early stage, unless they have already taken Hindi in the examinations previously.

" 3. The next stage should be a continuation of option to use Hindi, English or the regional languages in these examinations in the manner stated above, but with the addition of a compulsory paper in Hindi for such candidates whose language is other than

Hindi and a compulsory paper in some other Indian language for candidates whose language is Hindi. In both cases, English will be a compulsory subject for those who appear in the examinations in Hindi or the other regional languages.

“4. In this way, Hindi should progressively replace English as the language of examinations for the all-India services.”

This resolution was placed before the A.I.C.C. meeting at Ajmer and was ratified.

The following note was placed before the Working Committee regarding the medium of instruction in schools and colleges :

“The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on August 5, 1949 in regard to the language problem in India. Relevant portions of the resolution relating to medium of instruction in schools and colleges are given below :

‘At the primary stage a child shall get instruction in his mother tongue which will be according to the wishes of the guardian or parents of the child. It will ordinarily be the language of the area or the province. But in other places also and particularly in fringe areas in large cities where people speaking different languages congregate, public primary schools giving instruction in the language of a minority will be opened or sections joined to other primary schools, if there is a reasonable number, say 15 pupils in a class, demanding instruction in that language. But even in such schools and sections giving instruction through a minority language, provincial language will be introduced at the middle stage even for children speaking the minority language. Instruction at the secondary stage will ordinarily be given in the provincial language but where a sufficiently large number of pupils demand it schools may be run in sections attached to other schools in a minority language, provided that this will be determined having regard to conditions prevailing in the locality, such as, whether there are any existing institutions, Government or private, giving instructions through the minority language, whether the finances of the provinces can afford such independent schools etc. At the secondary stage a study of the all-India State

language should be taken up as a second language. At the University stage, the medium of instruction will be the provincial language.'

"The Working Committee passed another resolution on 17th May, 1953 regarding the 'use of languages'. In this resolution it was made quite clear that the medium of instruction in the primary schools 'should be the mother tongue of the students'. Even in an area having a particular language as its basic language, arrangements will be made, wherever possible, for primary schools in other languages, provided a sufficient number of pupils are available.

'There has recently been considerable controversy regarding the medium of instruction in schools and in the colleges in Bombay State. It will, therefore, be desirable to adopt a comprehensive resolution in this regard in order to remove unnecessary misunderstandings. It should be made clear that the medium of instruction at the secondary stage should be the regional language. Provision would be made for the mother tongue medium also where a sufficiently large number of pupils ask for it. But in such minority language schools, the study of regional language ought to be made compulsory.

'In the colleges and universities also, the medium of instruction should be the regional language. Wherever there is a demand from students in sufficient numbers, Hindi medium may also be allowed at the option of the students. But, in no case should Hindi medium of instruction be imposed compulsorily on students belonging to non-Hindi areas. In the case of teachers in universities who belong to another region, it should be open to such teachers to deliver lectures in Hindi. This will facilitate inter-provincial cultural intercourse.

'Hindi, as the all-India language, should be taught compulsorily at the high school and college stages up to the graduation standard. The study of one regional language, more specially of South India, should be made compulsory for those students whose mother tongue is Hindi. The medium of instruction in all-India institutions should, of course, be Hindi.

‘ English should be taught as a compulsory subject at the university stage. It may be optional at the high school stage. It should be made clear that although English is now ceasing to be the medium of instruction, it should be taught efficiently as a language. Wherever possible, Englishmen may be engaged as teachers of English in the Universities.’

‘ As regards technical terms, attempts should be made to have a uniform terminology in Hindi as well as most of the other regional languages. The international terms should be used within brackets during the transitional period. Every attempt should be made to make the terminology as simple as possible.’ ”

The Working Committee considered this question and adopted the following resolution:

“(1) The Congress has repeatedly laid down the policy to be pursued in regard to the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The Congress Working Committee has passed resolutions on this subject on August 5, 1949 and again on the 17th May 1953. The Constitution of India has recognised Hindi as the all-India National Language, while it has also indicated other regional languages of national significance. It should be the objective of a Government, through the educational system and by other means, to encourage and develop Hindi, both as a regional language and as the all-India National Language for official and other purposes. At the same time, the other regional languages, named in the Constitution, should also be given full encouragement. The object aimed at should be the development of an Indian literature through all these great languages of India, which should, therefore, have close contacts with each other.

“(2) While Hindi, as the all-India National Language should be a compulsory subject at various stages in schools and colleges, it is necessary that people in the Hindi-speaking areas should learn at least one other Indian language.

“(3) It should be remembered that, while English must give place to Hindi in India, a knowledge of foreign languages will continue to be necessary in order to keep in touch with foreign

literatures and currents of thought and developments in the various fields of activity. This will also encourage the development of literature and languages of India. While some study of all the important foreign languages of Europe and Asia is desirable, it will be necessary to encourage specially the study of English, both because of its importance as one of the principal world languages and its past contacts.

“(4) The medium of instruction at the primary stage must be the mother tongue of the child in accordance with the wishes of the parent or the guardian of the child. Ordinarily, this will be the language of the area or the State. In tribal areas, the medium during the early stages should be the mother tongue of the people of the area. In large cities and other areas, where there are many people speaking a language or languages other than the regional language, public primary schools should give instruction in the mother tongue, provided there are a reasonable number of persons demanding such instruction. In bilingual areas, more particularly the border areas between two States, special facilities should be given for primary education in each of the languages of that area.

“(5) Instruction at the secondary stage should ordinarily be given in the regional language but other languages may also be used where there are a sufficiently large number of pupils. At the secondary stage, the all-India language, namely Hindi, should be a compulsory second language.

“(6) At the University stage, the medium of instruction should be the regional language, though Hindi may also be used. In the Universities, while normal teaching will be done in the regional language, it should be open to teachers to deliver lectures in Hindi and occasionally even in English. This will facilitate inter-provincial cultural intercourse.

“(7) In the teaching of scientific and technical subjects, the transition from English to Hindi or the regional language should be so arranged as to be gradual and not to bring down standards. An intervening stage, in regard to some subjects, where both Hindi or the regional language and English are used as media, may be desirable.

“(8) As it is desirable to have an adequate knowledge of a foreign language, this should be taken at the high school stage and continued at the University stage.

“(9) The Working Committee approve generally of the fifteen year programme which the Education Ministry of the Central Government has drawn up in three stages of five years each, so as to complete the replacement of English by Hindi at the end of that period.

This resolution was also ratified by the A. I. C. C. at Ajmer.

The above two resolutions were circulated to the Central Government and the various State Governments with a view to implementing them, and were widely received. Various State Governments are taking action in accordance with the resolutions.”

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

On the 25th March, 1954, Shri S. N. Agarwal sent the following circular to the Pradesh Congress Committees :

“ It is evident that far-reaching changes in the existing educational system are absolutely essential for training the right type of youngmen in building up New India. The Planning Commission and the Central Advisory Board on Education have made a number of recommendations to re-orient the present educational system at the primary, secondary and university stages. It is, however, clear that the success of all educational reforms would ultimately depend on the right type of teachers. In more senses than one, the teachers are the real builders of a nation. They are responsible for building up the health, mental outlook and moral character of young boys and girls entrusted to their care. It is, therefore, the duty of the State to see to it that their legitimate rights in regard to their salaries and stability of service are properly safeguarded. It is also, however, the duty of the teaching profession to realise their heavy responsibilities and to strengthen the forces of peace, democracy and constructive effort in India. If the rights and duties of the teachers are properly understood and appreciated, our progress towards a Welfare State could be made much more quick and smooth. We would, therefore, like our Pradesh Congress Committees as well as the District Congress Committees to take a keen interest in the economic and social conditions of the teachers in their areas and to establish living contacts with them. Their legitimate grievances in regard to their financial conditions should be brought to the notice of the local bodies or the State Governments for reaching satisfactory solutions. If necessary, each P. C. C. may appoint a small Sub-Committee for this purpose. In special cases, grievances of teachers may be brought to the notice of the A. I. C. C. for help and guidance.”

The following note was placed before the Working Committee at its meeting on 8th November 1954, regarding Educational Reconstruction :

“The previous resolutions of the Congress Working Committee on the problems of medium of instruction and the medium of examinations for All India Public Services have been very well received by all sections of the public. But there is still general dissatisfaction about the content of the present-day education in schools and colleges. It is true that a number of Commissions and Committees have already submitted their reports about reconstructing the educational system of India. The Planning Commission has also made certain definite suggestions in the first Five Year Plan. It must be admitted, however, that the progress of educational reforms in different States has been slow and even disappointing. It may, therefore, be worthwhile to consider these problems by the Congress Working Committee and give certain directions to the Union and State Governments, if necessary, in the form of a resolution.

In this connection the following points may be considered :

(1) In accordance with the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution, the State “shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.” It appears that several State Governments have not yet taken up this work in right earnest. Every effort should be made to fulfil this Directive of the Constitution within the specified period.

(2) The Government of India as well as the Planning Commission have already accepted the fundamental principles of Basic Education as the pattern of National Education. It must, however, be conceded that the progress of Basic Education in most of the States is still very slow and unsatisfactory. It is not enough to open a few experimental basic schools in certain areas. In fact, it is necessary to gradually but systematically convert all

the existing primary and secondary schools into basic schools in both rural and urban areas. It is not correct to say that basic education is more costly than ordinary education because of the provision for craft education. Acharya Vinoba has made it very clear that no special money should be spent in basic schools on the provision for crafts and that the existing crafts and cottage industries in the locality should be fully utilised for educational purposes. If this principle is followed correctly, it will be possible to spread basic education throughout the country expeditiously. The children will not only learn the academic subjects through productive activity but will also receive adequate training in cottage industries for finding a vocation in life.

(3) The situation today is very paradoxical. On the one hand there are thousands of educated youngmen who are without jobs; and, on the other, there are a number of posts which are not being filled up for want of suitable trained personnel. A number of schemes under the Five Year Plan are not being implemented for want of such trained technicians. For example, we need a host of mechanics, surveyors, overseers and medical assistants in the rural areas, whereas a number of trained engineers and doctors are without employment. It is, therefore, essential to bring about a planned diversification in our educational system so that there may be a vital link between the educational institutions and our schemes on national development. Without such cordination and integration it will be impossible to solve the problem of unemployment among the educated youngmen of our country. It is absolutely necessary to encourage politechnical institutions and discourage purely Arts and 'Liberal' courses. In fact, further extension of ordinary schools and colleges in Arts courses may be stopped forthwith.

(4) It has been suggested by a number of educationists that students should not be awarded degrees without rendering a few months compulsory social service within the framework of the National Plan. It is desirable to accept this recommendation and get it implemented as early as possible.

(5) The Congress President has been emphasising the need for cultural and psychological integration of India. Our educational institutions can play a great role in this important task of bringing about cultural unity in the country. This can be achieved by introducing comparative study of different religions and of the lives of great men of various creeds as well as regions of India. Such a study should form an integral part of the curriculum in schools and colleges."

PROHIBITION

The Congress is committed to Prohibition and had, in fact, adopted it as an important part of its constructive programme.

Since Gandhiji's first Satyagraha campaign in 1921, picketing of liquor shops has been one of the main items of the Congress programme in this direction. The year 1929 witnessed the first phase of the Prohibition campaign condemning intoxicating drinks and drugs. The Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 emphasised the prime importance of Prohibition for the welfare and progress of the country.

Ever since the first Congress Ministries were formed in the Provinces before the last war, it was one of those experiments anxiously waited to be carried out as soon as the Governments were in a position to do so. But as a result of the financial difficulties resulting from the war and partition, many State Governments were unable to push forward the reform with the same speed with which they wanted to implement it.

In 1954 the Andhra Government appointed a three-man Committee to enquire into the working of prohibition in that State. On the 8th February, the Executive Committee of the Andhra P. C. C. passed the following resolution :

“ While accepting the views expressed by the President and General Secretaries of the Andhra Pradesh Committee against the repeal of Prohibition, this Committee resolves to request the General Secretary of the Andhra P. C. C. to convey the same views to the Andhra Prohibition Enquiry Committee appointed by the Andhra State Government.”

The summary of the Report of the Andhra Prohibition Enquiry Committee is given below :

“ The Andhra Prohibition Enquiry Committee appointed on 6—1—1954 with Shri S. V. Ramamurty as Chairman, and Justice Shri P. Satyanarayana Rao and Shri N. Ranganatham as members

has forwarded its report to the Government of Andhra on 17—2—1954. The Committee has toured in five selected districts in Andhra—Kurnool, Cuddapah, Krishna, West Godavari and Nellore—where it made local inspections and enquiries in villages selected at random. The Committee also issued a simple questionnaire to leaders of public opinion including members of the Legislative Assembly, members of Parliament, Presidents of Bar Associations, Chairmen of Municipal Councils, Members of Prohibition Advisory Councils and Women's Associations so as to get the opinion of a wide cross section of the public. Certain witnesses were also examined in Madras.

The Committee also examined crime and other statistics from official records. It took stock of the extent to which Prohibition has been introduced in the various States of the Indian Union. It studied the experience of various other countries where prohibition was tried for a few years and abandoned later, e.g., Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, New Zealand and U. S. A. The Committee also examined the system of liquor control without prohibition tried in Great Britain and Canada.

The Constitutional aspects of the question in relation to the directive principles of the Constitution have also been examined.

On the basis of the evidence obtained both from villagers and members of the intelligentsia, the Committee found that 50 to 100% of the old addicts continued to drink, that the use of liquor has spread to the lower middle classes from the labouring classes, that women and children and Communities like the Brahmins and Kshatriyas have also taken to drinking and that the quality consumed is more injurious to health than before. The Committee found there was over-whelming evidence to show that the enforcement of Prohibition has been a definite failure. The main cause of such failure is the lack of public opinion in its favour. No villager among the numerous villagers whom the Committee met in the several villages visited by the Committee expressed himself or herself in favour of the enforcement of Prohibition. Prohibition has practically ceased

to prohibit. The Committee made enquiries into the working of several co-operative Societies formed to make jaggery from nira and sweet juice and examined their accounts. The Committee found that a very large part of the juice tapped was being converted into toddy. Oral evidence as well as the accounts leave no doubt that the Co-operative inspectors have set at naught all administrative rules. The Committee found that administration in the three departments, co-operative, Prohibition and Police, has lamentably broken down. There was also the danger that disregard for Law and Rules in regard to the working of Prohibition and of Jaggery co-operative societies might produce a general disregard for Law.

The Committee found that there was wide spread and bare-faced corruption in the three Departments. The Committee examined various suggestions made for stricter enforcement of Prohibition such as better recruitment of staff, better rewards for honest work, provision of jeeps for inspection work and raids, more severe punishments, even collective fines and increase of staff. It was admitted in evidence from the Police that the increase of staff, to be effective, should be to the extent of providing Police staff in each village and this staff should consist of men of honesty and integrity. It was also admitted in evidence that in the absence of public opinion in favour of Prohibition no amount of enforcement could improve the situation and severe measures would only harass the poor tools while rich men escape.

The income from Excise before the introduction of Prohibition was about Rs. 5 (Five) crores and is now Rs. 11 lakhs. The expenditure on Excise Staff was Rs. 19 lakhs before the introduction of Prohibition and is Rs. 31 lakhs now. The Committee referred to the report of Justice Wanchoo that revenue from Excise should be made available for nation-building activities.

The Committee then expressed its conclusions. The results of Prohibition in Andhra are similar to those in several countries of the West. Human nature in Andhra is no better or no worse than in the West. It is not unconstitutional for Andhra to recede

along the line of approach to the ultimate goal of Prohibition which has been tried and found wanting and adopt instead an alternative line of approach. It is proposed that the coercive line of endeavour towards Prohibition should be replaced by a constructive line of endeavour. A coercive law for which the Committee found unanimous opposition in the villages cannot be conducive to the mobilising of opinion and energy in villages for the primary task of building up India as envisaged in the National Plan.

The evils of the old Excise policy should, however, be avoided. The Committee proposes that the objective of a new Excise policy should be minimum consumption and that the objective of maximum revenue should be abandoned. Such Revenue as accrued should be ploughed back for the benefit of the people who contribute to it. The Committee referred to Gandhiji's view that "there is a large and constructive side of Prohibition". The Policy the Committee proposes is :

- (1) Regulation of consumption of liquor ;
- and (2) Social and economic development.

Various suggestions are made for the regulation of liquor. In order to wean people from illicit distillation of arrack, it is suggested that the supply of good liquor at a reasonable price may be used to wean people from bad liquor at a high price. The Committee drew the attention of the Government to the imperative need for men of honesty and integrity if any system of administration is to succeed.

In conclusion the following recommendations are made by the Committee :

- (1) The Prohibition Law relating to liquor may be amended.
- (2) Toddy may be allowed without permit.
- (3) Arrack may be allowed on permit with an individual daily ration from a specified shop.
- (4) Consumption will be allowed only on the premises of licensed shops.
- (5) Shops for sale of toddy and arrack will be auctioned.

(6) Duty on arrack should be reduced so as to make arrack reasonably cheap to the consumer.

(7) Sites of liquor shops should not be close to dwelling houses.

(8) Liquor should not be sold to persons under 21 years of age or to women.

(9) Cash memos of sale showing name of customer, quantity sold and price charged should be issued and counterfoils kept by renters of liquor shops

(10) Foreign liquor may be allowed on permits without medical certificates and with the ration adjusted to income and habits of the permit holder; other existing restrictions being continued.

(11) Other restrictions on sales previously in force should remain unabated.

(12) The rules regarding Opium and Hemp may continue with such changes as regards restrictions as the Government may consider necessary.

(13) The system of forming co-operative societies to tap nira and sweet juice and make jaggery should be abandoned and existing societies abolished as their working has been a thorough failure and has led to much corruption.

(14) Net revenue from Excise on liquor and intoxicating drugs should be expended on development plans of the State included in the National Plan, whether on the Revenue or Capital account or both."

The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee met again on the 26th February and passed the following resolution :

" We have seen the recommendations of the Ramamurthi committee on Prohibition.

After full discussion and after hearing M.L.A's, the Executive Committee is strongly of the opinion that all the arguments

adduced by the Committee are only arguments to make Prohibition a success and to enforce it more rigorously. We do not consider that Prohibition has become a complete failure. We are convinced that Prohibition has benefited sections of the people specially in the lower rungs of the society.

Apart from the directive principles of the Constitution and the Election Manifestos issued by the Congress from time to time this Committee feels that it is too premature to give an adverse verdict on the benefits of Prohibition. If we have not attained full benefits of Prohibition it is mostly due to the slackness of the officers concerned.

Andhra is known as a Gandhian Province and we are aware that large number of men and women faced imprisonment and lathi charges and it will be against our tradition and ideology to take any step which will lead to the total repeal of the Prohibition. It does not augur well for the infant state of Andhra to set a bad example and also embarrass other states where Prohibition is being worked.

This Committee further feels that the demand for repeal emanates more from a section of the middle class, who want other people to drink, to finance their projects and who are also anxious to get some tax relief. It is wrong in principle to try to get money from people who cannot pay, and execute projects on the misery of innumerable families. All the reforms have their initial handicaps. Contravention of rules is no argument for the repeal of a beneficial measure, if at all it is an argument for better enforcement.

We request the Andhra Government not to repeal the Prohibition Act, but to devise ways and means for the effective enforcement and success of the Policy of Prohibition."

This question was placed before the Working Committee at their meeting on the 4th and 5th April, 1954. The Committee adopted the following resolution :

"The Constitution has laid down the Directive Principle that the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the

consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of intoxicating drinks and drugs which are injurious to health. The Congress Working Committee, having reviewed generally the progress of Prohibition in different States, consider that it is imperative in the national interest to take steps for more effective implementation of this Directive. The Working Committee take note of the fact that although certain States have taken substantial measures to carry out the policy of Prohibition, in several other States, adequate progress has not been made and various difficulties have been encountered. In carrying out a scheme of social reform which is of such far-reaching significance for the community as a whole, and especially for the poorer sections of the population, both in urban and in rural areas, financial aspects by themselves should not influence the course of policy and action. The Committee feel that the stage has reached when the experience gained and the difficulties met with in recent years should be studied carefully and objectively with a view to evolving a national programme for the fulfilment, with the widest possible public support and as speedily as may be feasible, of the Directive of the Constitution. To this end, the Working Committee suggest that the Planning Commission may make recommendations to the State Governments after collecting data and arranging for a full study of the subject in all its aspects by a Committee appointed for this purpose."

Forwarding the above resolution to the Pradesh Congress Committees, Shri S. N. Agarwal in his letter dated 7th April, 1954 wrote as follows :

" You have already received a copy of the resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee on the policy of Prohibition. Besides being one of the directive principles of the Indian Constitution, the policy of Prohibition has been one of the basic policies of the Congress. The Congress Working Committee, therefore, desires that we should review the experience gained regarding the implementation of Prohibition during the past years with a view to finding out ways and means for a more effective implementation of the objectives underlying Prohibition. The Working Committee

have suggested that the Planning Commission should collect necessary data on the subject and after arranging for a full study of the problem, send its recommendations to the State Governments for undertaking the task of Prohibition as an integral part of our national programme."

The Planning Commission will, undoubtedly, collect the necessary material from the State Governments as well as public institutions. It will, therefore, be very helpful if the Pradesh Congress Committees also consider this matter carefully and forward to us their considered suggestions for securing a better implementation of the Prohibition policy. Recommendations of the Pradesh Congress Committees may be sent to us on the following points :

(1) Necessary changes in the existing legislation with a view to making the laws more effective.

(2) Changes in the Existing administrative structure for enforcing the Prohibition laws.

(3) Variations in the methods and procedures for achieving the objectives of Prohibition.

(4) Programme for weaning away habitual drunkards through alternative recreation and healthy drinks.

(5) Any other suggestions for making Prohibition a successful policy and programme.

I may also draw your attention to the urgent need for undertaking a programme of social work by Congressmen to create strong public opinion against the evil of drinking. Gandhiji had always laid emphasis on this aspect of the problem. Without continuous and intensive social welfare work among the people, it will be very difficult to implement the policy of Prohibition only through administrative and legislative measures. I would, therefore, suggest that Congress Committees in your Pradesh may organise special meetings and study circles for the purpose. Suitable literature in the local languages may also be published for distribution among those sections of the public who are more liable to the temptation.

Now that the Congress Working Committee have given clear and unambiguous lead in the matter, I would earnestly urge on all Congressmen to take up this important national work in right earnest. As an initial step in this direction we would suggest that no Congressman should attend any public function, party or reception in which liquors are served. Sometimes it may be difficult to know beforehand about the serving of liquor at a function. Still, this convention by Congressmen will create a healthy public opinion in the country in favour of Prohibition, specially in those States where the policy of Prohibition has not yet been enforced. Congress Committees should also enforce strictly the rule in the Congress Constitution that active members should be teetotallers.

I hope you will please take a personal interest in the matter and let us know the necessary steps that you propose to take in the matter."

In accordance with the recommendation of the Working Committee, the Planning Commission has appointed a Committee consisting of the following members to enquire into the progress of Prohibition in the various States and make their recommendations :

1. Shri S. N. Agarwal, *Chairman* ;
2. Shrimati Sucheta Kripalni ;
3. Shri S. R. Vasavada ;
4. Shri Jaglal Chowdhry ;
5. Shri G. Ramachandran ;
6. Shri V. D. Dhantiyagi ;
7. Dr. Bhaskar Patel ;
8. Shri N. S. Varadachari, *Member Secretary*.

The progress of Prohibition in various parts of the country as reported to us is as follows :

In Ajmer, the first stage of the Prohibition scheme, which envisages 10% cut in the consumption on exciseable articles, was enforced with effect from 1—4—1949.

In Assam, the Government have enforced the Assam Liquor Prohibition Act, 1952 in the Barpeta sub-division as an experimental measure. The Government have also prohibited loose sales of foreign liquor in clubs.

In Bombay, total prohibition has been enforced.

In Coorg, partial prohibition, which was introduced in 1949, continues.

In Himachal Pradesh, Prohibition has been introduced in the following areas of the State.

(1) Chichiot Tehsil, in the Mandi District.

(2) Sahu Pargana, in the Chambal District.

(3) Jubbal and Chopal Tehsils and the area comprising the erstwhile Kuarsain and Sangri States, in the Mahasu District.

Prohibition was introduced in the Bhilsa district of Madhya Bharat on an experimental basis in 1948. Government have now launched on a programme of gradual implementation of Prohibition in Jhabua district also. Under this programme total prohibition will be introduced in the district in stages by closing 10% of the excise shops every year. Preliminary steps to introduce Prohibition in Guna district are also being taken.

In Madhya Pradesh, 40,000 sq. miles of the State territory are declared dry.

Madras was the first State to introduce total Prohibition which has been in force in that State since the 2nd October, 1948.

In Mysore, Prohibition has been in force in six districts and four talukas.

In Orissa, Prohibition of alcoholic drinks was introduced in the year 1947 and it has been in force since then.

In Punjab, Prohibition is in force in Rohtak. Government is now considering its extension to Gurgaon district.

In Saurashtra, the amendments to the Bombay Prohibition Act have been adopted.

In Uttar Pradesh, Prohibition is in force in 11 districts.

In Vindhya Pradesh, the use of opium is being gradually stopped. Every year there is a reduction of 10% in the quantity of opium consumption and it is expected that the supply of opium will be stopped by 1959.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

India's Foreign Policy resolution adopted by the Kalyani Congress and the International Affairs resolution adopted by the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer clearly give an indication of India's Foreign Policy and her attitude to other countries in international affairs. The resolution on the U. S. Military Aid to Pakistan adopted at Kalyani made India's attitude clear towards this aid. The Prime Minister of India later in his statement before the House of the People explained clearly why India was opposed to U. S. Military Aid to Pakistan and in his letter to the President of the United States of America he pointed out clearly that India's policy and views were based on her desire to help in the furtherance of peace and freedom and that it was clear that the results of the military alliance between the U.S.A. and Pakistan were bound to be unfortunate. It was obvious that since the aid has been announced there has been greater insecurity and greater tension followed by the upsetting of things as they were and the creation of a certain form of apprehension as to what the consequences might be. It was definitely pointed out by the Prime Minister that the Military aid was likely to create conditions which facilitate and encourage aggression.

In his speech the Prime Minister remarked :

“The world suffers today from an enormous amount of suspicion and fear and we have to judge the matter from this point of view as to whether it adds to suspicion and fear or lessens them. Can there be any doubt that the recent steps taken in regard to military aid being given to Pakistan is a step which adds to suspicions and fears, and therefore, the tensions of the world increase instead of bringing about any feeling of security ?”

The world events have moved at a rather swift pace during the year (1954). The work of the Indian army in Korea is well-known, Hardly had the Korea question been settled when new

questions came up, the most important of which the U. S. Military aid to Pakistan has already been referred to. Then came the Colombo Conference in April, the participating countries being India, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia. Then there was the Geneva Conference on Indo-China in which India played a prominent part, as a result of which Neutral Nations Commissions have been set up for Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. The three Commissions are presided over by India.

Immediately after the Geneva Conference the Prime Minister of China, Mr. Chou En-Lai visited India. He had prolonged talks with the Prime Minister of India and they issued a joint statement. Similarly, a joint statement was issued by the Prime Ministers of Burma and China.

Expressing his views on the visit of Mr. Chou En-Lai and commenting on India's foreign policy, the Congress President wrote as follows to the Presidents of the P.C.Cs. on July 4, 1954:

" You must have read the joint statement that Mr. Chou En-Lai and I issued after our talks in Delhi. A more or less similar statement has been issued jointly by Mr. Chou En-Lai and the Prime Minister of Burma. I believe that these statements are important not only for the countries concerned but also in a much larger context. I believe also that they indicate a certain historic change in the relationships of forces in Asia. It is not these statements that have made any change in these relations. The statements have only given expression to something that has been happening for some time, something that is giving Asia a place of her own in world affairs. In the past, for a few hundred years, Asia's problems were decided chiefly outside Asia. That tendency persists still. But it is increasingly recognised that it will not be possible in future to ignore what the countries of Asia think about themselves or their neighbours.

There can be little doubt that these joint statements have been welcomed by a vast number of people in our country. This indicates that they were in line with the spirit of the time and represented the conscious and sub-conscious urges of our people.

They were the natural development of our foreign policy. That foreign policy has been sometimes criticised from opposing points of view and yet, if I may say so, its very success has justified itself.

I should like Congressmen to appreciate the basic ideas underlying this policy, for, they have to explain it to the people. It is not enough to be in general sympathy with it, as most people are. We want an intelligent appreciation and support of it. A great responsibility rests upon our country and that responsibility increases and cannot be avoided. The Congress being not only in charge of the governance of the country, but being also the greatest organisation, must necessarily shoulder this burden more than others.

A policy must be in keeping with the traditional background and temper of the country. It should be idealistic, aiming at certain objectives, and, at the same time, it should be realistic. If it is not idealistic it becomes one of sheer opportunism ; if it is not realistic, then it is likely to be adventurist and wholly ineffective.

What is our background ? Leaving out the distant past, although it is important, this background has been conditioned by our struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership which taught us peaceful methods and tolerance : friendship with other nations, but, at the same time, independence of action. Inevitably, it was opposed to colonisation or the domination of one country by another. It was based on democracy and the freedom of the individual and social progress aiming at a society where there was no exploitation by one class over another and where the present inequalities, social or economic were gradually removed. The basis of action was always peaceful. Inevitably, this led to our ideal of a secular State, even though in practice many of our people may still be far removed from it.

Our present foreign policy flows from the background and naturally works for world peace and the avoidance of war. That is not only a natural ideal for us but is dictated by every consideration of intelligent self-interest. Non-alignment with great power

groups also inevitably follows. Any alignment means tying ourselves up with other policies and being conditioned by the wishes or decisions of other countries. No country can live in isolation or ignore what other countries might or might not do. But to tie oneself up with other countries leads to consequences which are obvious enough in the world today. A weak country doing so becomes a subservient country and it is increasingly difficult for it to break away from those bonds. There is nothing to prevent a country from supporting a policy which it approves without previously aligning itself with a country that sponsors that policy.

We are entirely opposed to colonialism. In our own way, we are continuously working to put an end to it. But we realise that this process will not be helped by adventurist tactics. We do not, therefore, go about merely condemning this or that aspect of present-day colonialism and thereby increasing the ill-will and conflicts of the world. Even in the case of the foreign pockets or territory in India, which we are convinced must disappear, we have attempted to solve the problem peacefully. I am sure that that was the right approach. We have to take the larger view of international problems and not try to solve one problem at the expense of creating half a dozen more difficult ones.

The future progress of our country and of other countries in Asia depends primarily on the continuance of peace. It is for this reason, apart from our natural bent, that we give first place to this striving for peace. No one can guarantee peace for an indefinite number of years. But we feel that even a few years gained is something worth striving for and the longer this interval of peace the less chance of war in the future. I need not refer to the horrible aspect of modern war with its atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons, which should really put war out of the picture completely.

At present, there are two major forces in the world—the fear of the United States of America and a number of Western Powers of Communism and the Communist countries, which they think are expansionist and aiming at world domination, and the other fear of the Communist countries of being encircled and

crushed by the expansionist tendencies of other countries. They point to the large number of bases surrounding them from where presumably atomic and hydrogen bombs can be hurled at them. Whatever the truth may be in these fears, the fact that they exist is relevant and that in the existing balance of forces neither side can compel the other to surrender in peace or war. What then are the alternatives? Is it possible to find some way of peaceful existence with all these countries, some recognition of facts as they are without trying to change them basically, or, must we rule this out? If this peaceful existence is considered not possible, then we confess defeat, for, the only alternative is war and that is not a solution.

We in India, and I believe many other countries in Asia, believe that such peaceful existence is possible, provided it is clearly understood that one country must not interfere with another and try to impose itself or its ideologies, political, or economic, on another. The importance of the recent statements made on behalf of India, China and Burma lies in the emphasis on this approach. It is said: how can we put faith in such declarations? In international affairs, one can never be dead certain and the friends of today might be enemies of tomorrow. That may be so. Are we then to begin with enmity and suspicion and not give any other approach a chance? Surely it is better, with nations as with individuals, to hope for and expect the best, but at the same time be prepared for any eventuality. But, we must honestly and sincerely have faith in the best. That itself generates an atmosphere which helps and makes possible a further step in the right direction. Not to do so again is to accept defeat right from the beginning.

We do not accept the Communist philosophy, though we certainly accept the idea of equality, of ending the exploitation of human beings, and of raising the underprivileged. We do not agree with some of the policies of the United States of America and do not fully appreciate many things that America stands for today. Whether we agree or disagree with any of these countries, we do not see why we should not be friendly with them and

co-operate with them in such measure as possible, and holding to our own ideals. The freedom we wish to have in our own country we wish to give to others in their own countries. The real difficulty comes in when one country tries to impose its will or its ideology, or interferes with another country. If that is ruled out, then the possibilities of conflict lessen. If today the great countries of the world declare their adherence to this policy of non-interference with other countries, it is obvious that an immediate change for the better will take place in the world. Even if such declarations are not sincerely meant, the result will be to create a force in favour of peace and non-interference.

Peace can only be preserved by methods of peace. A war-like approach to peace is a contradiction in terms. Peace preserved by threats is unstable, more especially when the party threatened is not weak. Peace cannot live in an atmosphere of constant preparation for war and threat of war. Therefore, peace as well as security can best be maintained by efforts at collective peace and avoidance of war. If this cannot be done in the world as a whole, then an attempt should be made to have areas where such peace can be maintained. Gradually that area will spread. It must be remembered that the idea of war requires the implements of war and small or weak countries do not count over much where war is considered. Peace has other forces at its command and even the voice of weak countries in favour of peace can count.

A sudden change in the present tensions of the world is difficult. One tries; therefore, for such success as one can attain in a small way here and there. Every step forward is gain and helps in the next step to come. But, above all, we must have the idea of peace before us, and this means that we must give up the habit of denouncing other countries, even though we may disagree with them. Only then can we help in creating a climate of peace.

A policy of peace, like any other policy cannot be based on fear and weakness. Therefore, a country must develop its strength

to the best of its ability and, above all, rely upon itself. Strength involves certain material factors. But, it is also something apart from those factors. We have to develop both. We in India have been criticised sometimes for accepting aid for our developmental programme from the United States of America when we do not always agree with their policy. There may be something in that criticism and it is true that no country which relies greatly on aid from outside can be self-reliant. But, aid taken in a limited measure and with a frank understanding of each other's position, is not dishonourable to either. If the United States choose not to aid India, we shall have and can have no complaint and we shall continue to be friendly to them. Aid from one country to another is not abnormal. It is only when it comes with the intention of affecting policies that it is undesirable. One of the reasons why we have not said that we shall not accept aid from outside is that our saying so would itself be a gesture of lack of friendship, if not of hostility. We do not want to behave in this unfriendly and discourteous way to any country.

I have tried to explain our policy so that Congressmen and others should understand it in its various implications. The major fact is that we are following not a passive or merely neutral policy but a dynamic policy which is based on certain definite principles and objectives as well as certain methods. We try not to forget the means in search of our ends. I think that the recent joint statements made on behalf of India, China and Burma are to be welcomed not only in themselves but because they further this larger policy. We would gladly make similar arrangements, with other countries. It must be recognised, however, that any policy that is realistic must take into consideration the profound changes in the relationships of forces in Asia and the world."

Mr. Chou En-Lai while in India extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of India to visit China. The Prime Minister of India accepted the invitation and visited China towards the second half of October. He was widely received in China. The tumultuous reception given to him showed the feelings of the Chinese people towards India.

Besides Mr. Chou-En-lai, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Ali Sastroamedjojo, the Prime Minister of Burma Mr. Thakin Nu, Mr. St. Laurence Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the Republic of Yugoslavia Marshal Tito also visited India.

In a separate chapter mention has already been made about the two visits of the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala.

The visits of these people have strengthened the ties existing between India and these countries.

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

After the attainment of freedom there were some French and some Portuguese possessions in India. The French possessions were Chandranagore, Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam, while the Portuguese possessions were Goa, Daman and Diu. Chandranagore became part of India de jure on June 9, 1952 and in October 1954 its administration was taken over by the Government of West Bengal under whose jurisdiction the place is situated. As far as the other French possessions are concerned, a referendum was taken in October 1954. There was an overwhelming verdict for merger with India. The French Government thereupon decided to transfer these possessions to India from November 1, 1954. Shri Kewal Singh has been appointed as the first Chief Commissioner. We are giving below the agreement signed between the Governments of India and France for the transfer of these French possessions to India :

TEXT OF AGREEMENT

Article 1: With effect from November 1, 1954 the Government of India shall take over the administration of the territory of the French Establishments in India. These Establishments will keep the benefits of the special administrative status which was in force prior to the 'de facto' transfer. Any constitutional changes in this status which may be made subsequently shall be made after ascertaining the wishes of the people.

Article 2: The municipal regime in the communes of the Establishments and the regime relating to the Representative Assembly shall be maintained in their present form.

Article 3 : The Government of India shall succeed to the rights and obligations resulting from such acts of the French administration as are binding on these Establishments,

Article 4 : Questions pertaining to citizenship shall be determined before 'de jure' transfer takes place. Both the Governments agree that free choice of nationality shall be allowed.

Article 5 : With effect from the date of the 'de facto' transfer the Government of India shall take in their service all the civil servants and employees of the Establishments other than those belonging to the metropolitan cadre or to the General cadre of the France d'Outre-Mer Ministry. These civil servants and employees including the members of the public forces shall be entitled to receive from the Government of India the same conditions of services, as respects remuneration, leave, and pension and the same right as respects disciplinary matter or the tenure of their posts, or similar rights as changed circumstances may permit, as they were entitled to immediately before the date of the 'de facto' transfer. They shall not be dismissed or their prospects shall not be damaged on account of any action done in the course of duty prior to the date of the 'de facto' transfer.

French civil servants, magistrates and military personal born in the Establishments or keeping there family links shall be permitted to return freely to the Establishments on leave or on retirement.

Article 6 : The Government of France shall assume responsibility for payment of such pensions as are supported by the Metropolitan budget. The Government of India shall assume responsibility for the payment of pensions, allowances and grants supported by the local budget. The system of pensions according to the rules of the various local Retirement Funds shall continue to be in force.

Article 7 : Nationals of France and the French Union born in or domiciled in the Establishments on the date of the 'de facto' transfer and at present practising their professions therein shall be permitted to carry on their professions in these Establishments without being required to secure additional qualifications, diplomas or permits, or to comply with any new formalities.

Article 8: The administration's charitable institutions and loan offices shall continue to operate under their present status, and shall not be modified in the future without ascertaining the wishes of the people. The present facilities granted to the private charitable institutions shall be maintained.

Article 9: Properties pertaining to worship or in use for cultural purposes shall be in the ownership of the missions or of the institutions entrusted by the French regulations at present in force with the management of those properties.

The Government of India agree to recognise as legal corporate bodies, with all due rights attached to such a qualification, the "Conceils de fabrique" and the administration boards of the Missions.

Article 10: Judicial matters :—

Judicial proceedings instituted prior to the 'de facto' transfer shall be continued, until a final decision has been reached, in conformity with the laws and regulations in force at the time of institution of such proceedings.

To this end and up to the final settlement of such proceedings the existing courts in the Establishments shall continue to function. Officers of the Courts shall be law graduates, habitually domiciled in the Establishments, honourably known, and selected after consultation with the Consul General of India before the date of the 'de facto' transfer, in accordance with the French regulations governing the designation of temporary judicial officers.

The interested parties shall be entitled, if they so decide by common agreement, to transfer to the competent Indian Courts, the said proceedings as well as proceedings which, though already open, are not yet entered with the Registrars of the French Courts, and also proceedings which constitute an ordinary or extraordinary appeal.

Judgment, decrees and orders passed by the French Courts, prior to the 'de facto' transfer, which are final or may become so by expiration of the delays of appeal, shall be executed by the

competent Indian authorities. Judgments, decrees and orders passed after the date of the 'de facto' transfer in conformity with the first paragraph of the present article shall be executed by the competent Indian authorities, irrespective of the Court which exercised the jurisdiction.

Acts or deeds constitutive of rights established prior to the date of the 'de facto' transfer in conformity with French law shall retain the value and validity conferred at that time by the same law.

The records of the French Courts shall be preserved in their entirety during a period of twenty years and communication of their contents shall be given to the duly accredited representatives of the French Government whenever they apply for such communication.

Article 11: The records of the Registrars' offices shall be preserved and copies or extracts of the proceedings shall be issued to the parties or the authorities concerned.

The third copies of each of the Registrar's offices books of every commune shall be handed over to the French representative on the date of the 'de facto' transfer.

As regards records of the year 1954, copies shall be forwarded at the end of the year to the Ministry of French Overseas Territories (Service de l'Etat Civil et des Archives).

The personal judicial records of the Courts' Registries shall be preserved and copies or extracts of these records shall be issued to the French authorities upon their application.

Article 12: The provisions of Article 10 of this agreement shall apply to proceedings which the "Conseil du Contentieux administratif" is competent to deal with.

Temporary magistrates and local civil servants selected in accordance with the principles of the said article shall compose this body.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL MATTERS

Article 13: Nationals of France and the French Union belonging by birth to the Establishments or domiciled therein on the date of the 'de facto' transfer, shall, subject to the laws and regulations in force, enjoy in these Establishments the same freedom of establishment, movement and trade as the other inhabitants of the Establishments.

Article 14: In respect of taxes and duties, other than customs duties and excises, Nationals of France and the French Union belonging by birth to the Establishments or domiciled therein on the date of the 'de facto' transfer, shall upto the date of the 'de jure' transfer, be subjected in regard to their persons, properties and enterprises to the same laws and regulations as are at present in forces.

Article 15: All persons or corporate bodies who leave or have already left the Establishments permanently shall be permitted freely to repatriate their capital and properties over a period of ten years from the date of transfer.

Article 16: With effect from the date of the 'de facto' transfer, goods exported from a port of the Establishments to France or the French Union or imported through the same ports from France or the French Union, shall be accorded most-favoured nation treatment in respect of customs duties and other formalities.

Article 17: All orders placed outside the Establishments and finalised through the grant of a licence by competent authorities in accordance with the laws and regulations in force, prior to the date of the 'de facto' transfer, shall be fulfilled and the necessary foreign currency granted, provided that the goods are imported within the period of validity of the relevant licence. The goods shall, however, be liable to customs duty and other taxes normally leviable at Indian ports. The same rule will apply to goods destined for export for which a licence has been granted, and which will be in stock in the Establishments on the date of

'de facto' transfer. Their export shall be permitted without restriction ; but they shall become subject to the normal excise or export duty.

Article 18 : The Government of India with a view to ensure the normal operation of the textile mills of Pondicherry agree to facilitate the allotment of quotas from Indian courses corresponding to the normal supply requirements of the mills. They will also supply the necessary amount of foreign currency required by the mills to carry out orders passed under previous regulations.

The French Government on their part agree to maintain to the benefit of these mills, for a period of six months with allocation of Foreign currency, and under the same conditions as existed prior to the 'de facto' transfer, entry into the French Union of the goods produced by the said mills.

Article 19 : On the date of the 'de facto' transfer local public accounts shall be closed in the Establishment's Treasurer and Paymaster's books.

Article 20 : The Government of India shall take the place of the French Government in respect of all credits, debts and deficits of the various accounts in the care of the local administration. The Government of India shall reimburse to the French Government the amount of Treasury loans and various funds placed by the latter at the disposal of the Establishments with the exception of sums remitted as grants.

Article 21 : Stocks built up by the local authorities and paid for out of the Metropolitan budget or Treasury in order to ensure normal supplies to the population will be repurchased by the Government of India.

Article 22 : The French Government will place a power station at the disposal of the Government of India. The conditions of the purchase shall be examined by the competent authorities.

Article 23 : The Government of France shall reimburse the Government of India within a period of one year from the

date of the 'de facto' transfer the equivalent value at par in £ sterling or in Indian Rupees of the currency withdrawn from circulation from the Establishments after the 'de facto' transfer.

CULTURAL QUESTIONS

Article 24 : The Indian Government agree to the continuation of the existing French institutions of a scientific or cultural character and by agreement between the two Governments to the granting of facilities for the opening of establishments of the same character.

Article 25 : The "College Francais de Pondicherry" shall be maintained in its present premises as a French educational establishment of the second degree with full rights. The French Government shall assume the charge of its functions as well in respect of the selection and salaries of the staff necessary for management, teaching and discipline as in respect of the organisation of studies, syllabi, and examinations and the charge of its maintenance. The premises shall be the property of the French Government.

Article 26 : Private educational institutions at present in existence in the French Establishments shall be allowed to continue and shall preserve the possibility of imparting French education. They shall continue to receive from the local authorities subsidies and other facilities at least equal to those which have been granted up-to-date.

Article 27 : French diplomas and degrees awarded to persons belonging to the French Establishments viz, "baccalaureat," "brevet elementaire", "brevet d'etudes du premier cycle" shall be examined by a joint educational committee set up by the two Governments with a view to establishing their equivalence with diplomas and degrees awarded by Indian universities. Degrees in law and medicine awarded in French Establishments shall be examined similarly.

Article 28 : The French Government or French recognised Private Organisation shall be allowed to maintain and to create by agreement between the two Governments in the former French Establishments in India, establishments or institutions devoted

either to higher studies leading to diplomas of French languages, culture and Civilisation, or to scientific research or to the spreading of French Culture in the Sciences, Arts, or Fine Arts. The Indian Government shall grant facilities in accordance with their laws and regulations for entry into and residence in India to French scholars officially sent by the French Government for a period of study in India.

Article 29 : Studies leading to the local diploma of "Licence en Droit" shall be continued in Pondicherry until the examination session of 1955. Scholarships for the completion of their studies in France shall be granted on request to the students of the Law College in order to prepare their "Licence en Droit". Law studies shall be directed by men of law residing in Pondicherry and nominated to the post of dean and to each chair by an administrative decision prior to the 'de facto' transfer.

Degrees of a purely local character shall be recognised under usual conditions.

Article 30 : Medical students at present engaged in the course of their studies shall have the possibility either of obtaining a scholarship for studies in France for the completion of the course of studies leading to the French M.D. Degree, or to be admitted into Indian Medical Colleges after being given due credits for their previous medical studies. This question shall be considered by the Joint Educational Committee to be set up under Article 27, the students concerned being given in any case a possibility of option for either of the above mentioned solutions.

The possibility of establishing a Medical College in Pondicherry shall also be examined by the Joint Educational Committee.

The Government of India shall maintain the General Hospital, Pondicherry, as well as the pharmaceutical department attached to it. The Government of India shall request the French Government to place at their disposal such experts as are required for these institutions.

Article 31: A French representative shall be established in Pondicherry. The payment of the pensions which are the responsibility of the Metropolitan Budget and the financial operations of the Military Bureau in respect of allowances to the families of military personnel shall be dealt with by the representative.

Article 32: The French Government shall transfer to the Indian Government all property owned by the local administration of the Establishments with the exception of such property as, by agreement between the two Governments, is retained by the Government of France for the accommodation of the French Consulate, the College Francais and the Institute to be set up in the future. Properties which are at present in the possession of the religious authorities shall be retained by them and the Government of India agree, whenever necessary, to convey the titles to them.

Article 33: The French Government shall keep in their custody the records having an historical interest, they shall leave in the hands of the Indian Government the records required for the administration of the Territory.

Article 34: The French language shall remain the official language of the Establishments so long as the elected representatives of the people shall not dispose otherwise.

Article 35: The questions pending at the time of 'de facto' transfer shall be considered and settled by a France-Indian Commission composed of three representatives of the French Government and three representatives of the Government of India. All difficulties which might arise as regards the rights and obligations to which the Government of India succeed according to Article 3 shall be settled by the said Commission.

The above transfer brings to an end 300 years of French colonial rule in India.

This leaves us with the question of three Portuguese possessions of Goa, Daman and Diu. The merger movement is

gaining strength in these places also. But the Government of Portugal have let loose a reign of terror in these places. Mahatma Gandhi expressed the following views in the Harijan of 30th June 1946 regarding these Portuguese possessions in India :

“ The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape bad manners. In free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

“ To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.”

We are sure that the Government of Portugal will realise the weight in the peaceful demand of the people of these possessions for legitimate and rightful merger with the Mother Land and accede to their request in a similar way as the Government of France has done.

NATIONAL PLAN DEVELOPMENT LOAN

At Kalyani the Congress recommended to the Government that special development loans be floated so that public works on a much larger scale might be initiated and industries built up, thus not only strengthening the nation, but also providing large-scale employment to the people. Such loans should suit the small investor so that large numbers of people should associate themselves in this as in other ways, in the great and co-operative endeavour to build a strong and progressive nation.

Forwarding the above recommendation to the Pradesh Congress Committees the General Secretary of the Congress, Shri S. N. Agarwal wrote to the Pradesh Congress Presidents on January 29, 1954 :

“ We hope that in terms of the above resolution you will urge upon Congressmen to popularise these development loans and make them contribute as liberally as possible to them.”

Commending the National Plan Loan to the Pradesh Congress Committees Shri Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary of the Congress wrote on April 19, 1954 :

“ The Kalyani Session of the Congress in its resolution on “ Call to the Nation ” emphasised the fact that the nation must rely on its own resources for social, economic and industrial development of the country and must be prepared for austerity in the present so that security and a fuller life might be available to the people in the future. The Congress recommended to the Government that special development loans be floated so that public works on a much larger scale might be initiated and industries built up. It was further pointed out that these loans should suit the small investor so that large number of people could associate themselves with this, as in other ways, in the great and co-operative endeavour to build a strong and progressive nation.

While moving the resolution before the open Session of the Congress, the Congress President suggested that the resolution was a Message and an Order for work. He expected Congressmen to respond to the call and show to the world by their hard work that they were capable of facing such problems as came their way with courage and vitality.

The Government of India has announced the issue of a loan called "National Plan Loan 1964" which is being floated for the first time in India for raising funds for development purposes and for the fulfilment of the National Plan Loan.

In an appeal to the nation for subscribing to the loan described as a 'popular Loan going down to the humblest amongst us', the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said :

"This loan is an invitation to all of us to join in this mighty venture of building up a new India. It is a way of showing that we shall stand on our feet and not allow ourselves to be uprooted by the strong winds that might blow in upon us from any quarter".

He further said :

"The strength of a nation ultimately depends on its economic and industrial development being not only greater production but greater employment. All else flow from this. We are firmly resolved to build up our nation and make India united, strong and prosperous with friendship to all and malice to none."

We would request you to give wide publicity to the statement of the Congress President and urge on the people to realise the importance of this National Plan Loan and respond to the call of the national leader. The various Congress Committees would do well to take up this work as one of its prime activities in the next few days and organise a drive for liberal subscription to this National Plan Development Loan."

On June 11, 1954, the Congress President wrote as follows to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees regarding the National Plan Loan :

"I am writing to you about the National Plan Loan. You will remember that the last meeting of the Working Committee especially drew the attention of Congressmen to this loan and asked them to help in it. In fact, this loan is in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Kalyani Session of the Congress. We have, therefore, a special obligation in this matter. This loan is different from previous loans. Apart from the fact that it is meant for the National Plan and our developmental projects, it is addressed more especially to the small investor. We want to make as many people as possible in our country partners in this adventure of building up India.

I should like you, therefore, to impress upon Congress Committees the desirability and indeed the necessity of their showing initiative in this matter. Members of Parliament and of our State Assemblies should especially interest themselves and approach not only our towns folk, but even more so our village people. The message of this National Plan Loan should reach every corner of the country. With it, of course, should go the whole picture of our National Plan and the development of India.

I suggest, therefore, that you should address on this subject not only your District and other Congress Committees but also the Members of Parliament in your State and the members of your State Assembly."

The Government started this loan on April 16, 1954, and closed it on September 16, 1954. During this period a sum of Rs. 158 crores was subscribed by 90,000 subscribers.

The response to the Loan has been quite appreciable although it is not exactly up to the expectations. It is hoped that this money will be useful in the various schemes for the betterment of the country.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

The undernoted office note was placed before the Working Committee at their meeting in May 1954 :

“ As early as 1907 the British Government of India appointed a Decentralisation Committee which recognised that in India “ the village constitutes the primary territorial unit of Government organisation, and from the villages are built up larger administrative entities ”. The Committee in its Report advised the establishment of Village Panchayats, Sub-District and District Boards, but all these were to be kept “ completely under the eye and hand of the District authorities ”. As was natural, such an approach to village Panchayats did not prove conducive to their growth and did not bring into prominence “ the exuberant vitality and manifold growth of self-governing institutions among people characterised by a genius for social experiments and constructions.” (Radha Kumud Mookerji in his Preface to ‘ Local Government in Ancient India ’).

“ Congress aims to create through the institutions of Village Panchayats ideal village republics forming the solid base of the democratic pyramid of our Welfare State. This is an entirely novel effort in the modern world, though it is nothing new in India where our peasantry has a natural and traditional genius for functioning collective communities. As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru points out in ‘ Discovery of India ’, in our country “ the agrarian system was based on a co-operative or collective village. Individuals and families had certain rights as well as certain obligations, both of which were determined and protected by customary law.”

“ The first step towards the creation of Village Panchayats was taken in Uttar Pradesh in the months immediately following our Independence. The U. P. Panchayat Raj Act was passed in September 1947 and endorsed on December 27 of the same year. The U.P. enactment was followed by similar enactments in most

of the States, which were, of course, modified in accordance with local conditions. In the process certain States considerably improved upon the U. P. Panchayat Raj Act, notably Saurashtra, and greater and greater rights were conferred on the village communities. The U. P. Act was amended twice and a third amending Act has also been passed by the State Legislature.

“The cumulative effect of these legislations and their working has not been thus far studied in any detail but certain facts nevertheless stand out. Litigation in the rural areas has definitely decreased. Secondly, the Village Panchayats in the different States have aided in the carrying out of the rural reconstruction programmes. The *Adalati* or the *Nyaya Panchayats*, which were created as adjuncts of the system of Village Panchayats have in most cases done commendable work. Those Village Panchayats which proved their worth by their work have been given the right to collect the Government revenues in certain States, and this has in practice proved to be a smoother and more efficient process for the collection of the land revenue demand.

“Our Village Panchayats, however, have yet to become what they are intended to be—ideal village republics forming the solid base of the democratic pyramid of the State. Their place in the administrative scheme of things, still, on the whole, remains vaguely defined and the evolutionary process of their integration in the administrative set-up of the State has consequently been rather slow. Their growth has also been hampered by financial stringency and the Panchayats have, on the whole, very meagre revenues with which to carry out very responsible work. It is urgently necessary to precisely define the role of Panchayats in relation to other local bodies and State Government themselves.

“It is time, therefore, that the Congress Working Committee undertake a thorough reappraisal of the whole situation with regard to Village Panchayats in India for which it may be necessary to convene a Conference of Local Self-Government Ministers of all the States. Such a Conference can discuss some very pressing problems with regard to Village Panchayats and

their future and can lay down the future course of action. Some of the points which the Local Self-Government Ministers Conference may consider are suggested below :

(1) Diversity of the existing Village Panchayat Acts and how far uniformity is possible in certain broad aspects.

(2) Keeping in view the profound import of Acharya Vinoba Bhave's remarks at the Bodh Gaya Sarvodaya Sammelan with regard to the evils of the present system of elections, the Conference may discuss whether it would be advisable to stimulate the usual type of elections for the Village Panchayats or, in the alternative, with a view to develop common village life, certain other methods of selecting the top Village Panchayat body would be desirable.

(3) How far it is possible to devolve more power on the Village Panchayats so that they come to exercise greater control over village life. As an example, under the given conditions, how far can the Village Panchayat be entrusted to fulfil the Five Year Plan targets in its jurisdiction. It may be borne in mind that the Second Five Year Plan, which is now under preparation, will be largely a plan from the bottom and will be based on villages, mandals, thanas and talukas. What role the Village Panchayats are to play in their fulfilment should be laid down.

(4) To examine how successfully the Village Panchayats exercised the judicial powers conferred upon them and how much more powers of the judiciary may be transferred to them.

(5) How far the Village Panchayats may be entrusted with the tasks of the Revenue Authority.

"Some other allied topics may be considered, as the above is by no means an exhaustive list. It would nevertheless be of primary importance to prepare a clear-cut plan and steps and stages be laid down for their implementation."

The Working Committee considered the question and adopted the following resolution :

“The Working Committee have noted with appreciation the progressive introduction of the Panchayat system in various parts of India. This is not only in keeping with the ancient tradition of India but is suited to present-day conditions. A modern State tends inevitably to become more and more centralised. This tendency should be balanced by the growth of local self-governing institutions, so that the mass of the people should themselves participate in this business of administration and in other aspects of community life, social, economic and judicial. This can best be done by the development of Panchayats in the villages of India. These Panchayats should have an administrative functioning as well as a judicial function.

“The Committee particularly welcome the establishment of Nyaya or judicial Panchayats which should reduce the burden on the regular courts and make justice available on the spot in a considerable number of relatively petty matters and thus make it both speedy and inexpensive also.

“Such Panchayats should be developed throughout the country in accordance with local conditions and traditions and represent the entire community in the area concerned, irrespective of caste or creed.

“In view of the importance of this subject, the Working Committee appoint a Committee consisting of :—

1. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju,
2. Shri Jagjiwan Ram,
3. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda,
4. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir,
5. Shri Keshava Deva Malaviya ; and
6. Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal (*Convener*).

to consider this question in all its aspects, including reports of the working of the Panchayats in various States, and report to the next meeting of the Working Committee which is going to be held prior to the Ajmer Session of the A.I.C.C. ”

The Sub-Committee held its preliminary sitting and decided to issue the following questionnaire ;

1. What is the total number of villages in the State? How many of these have been covered by village Panchayats?
2. Are Panchayats formed on the basis of one Panchayat for one village or one for a group of villages? If the latter, what is the basis on which villages are grouped in order to form Panchayats?
3. Are Panchayats formed on the basis of adult suffrage or some other electoral system? If the latter, give a description of the system? Is there any proposal to change over to adult suffrage?
4. How are Panchayats formed: Election or Nomination? If the former, is it election at a general meeting of voters or through the system of ballot voting? If the former, is it by show of hands or through secret ballot? If the latter, is the area of the Panchayat divided into various wards, each of which elects one or more members? Is there provision for nomination of any part of the membership of the Panchayat? Are there any proposals to introduce changes in the existing provisions regarding the formation of Panchayats?
5. What are the powers of Panchayats? What are the benefits which the people of a village secure from the Panchayats? Have the Panchayats been instrumental in improving the condition of the villages in the matter of education, public health, communications, development of the Co-operative Movement and other welfare activities of the people?
6. Are there judicial or the Nyaya Panchayats in your State? If so, what is the relation of a Nyaya Panchayat with the Village Panchayat? How are the Nyaya Panchayats constituted election, nomination, or both.
7. What has been the experience of the working of Nyaya Panchayats in recent years? How far they have succeeded in reducing litigation? Have the group differences in the village been reflected in the Nyaya Panchayats?
8. Please detail the improvements which, according to you, should be effected in the Nyaya Panchayats.

9. What are the sources of revenue of the Panchayats ?

Do the Panchayats levy any tax on their own, or does the Panchayat Act provide for certain items of taxation which are to be collected and administered by the Panchayat? Does the Government give any grants for the Panchayats and, if so, on what basis ?

10. How and on what items are the revenues of the Panchayats being spent? What is the procedure for the sanctioning of particular expenses for particular items? Does any item of expenditure require the prior sanction of the Government?

11. Is the President elected by members of the Panchayat Board or by the whole electorate or nominated by the Government? Is there any Executive Officer to help the Panchayat and its President in its executive work? If so, how is he appointed? How are the conditions of his service determined? How are the rules of discipline formulated and endorsed in his case? Is he under the discipline of the Panchayat, or of the Government, or of both.

12. What is the staff, clerical and otherwise, of a Panchayat? How is it appointed and on what terms?

13. What is the relation between a Panchayat and the regular administrative and revenue officers of the village? How are the educational, public health and other activities of the Panchayat coordinated with the corresponding departments of the Government? Do the District or other executive officers of the Government exercise any authority over the Panchayats?

14. Is there a separate Panchayat Department of the Government? If so, how does it function? How does it supervise and check up the activities of the Panchayats? Does the Department possess and exercise powers of superseding a Panchayat? If so, under what conditions? What happens in the area of a Panchayat Board after its supersession?

15. What are the other organs of Local Self-Government for Rural areas in the State? Are there Union or Taluq Boards or

District Boards ? If so, how are the functions and activities of these organs coordinated with those of the Village Panchayats ?

16. What is your opinion regarding the working of the Panchayats ? What are the suggestions regarding the improvement of their constitution and functioning ?

17. How do you propose to integrate the activities of Panchayats with the activities of such organs of popular co-operation in the implementation of the Five Year Plan, as have been proposed by the Planning Commission ?

18. What acts and amendments of the same have been put on the Statute Book ? Do you publish regular annual reports of the functioning of Panchayats in your State ? A copy of all the Acts passed and the Reports published may please be sent along with the reply to this questionnaire.

This questionnaire was sent to the Pradesh Congress Committees and was widely circulated through the press also. The Committee considered the replies to the questionnaire and also took into consideration the various suggestions made by the P.C.Cs. and others. The attention given to the question of Panchayats by the Congress roused countrywide interests and the Union Minister of Health convened a Conference of the Local Self-Government Ministers at Simla in June 1954 to consider this very question,

The problem of Village Panchayats has become a very important question in the development towards a Welfare State in India after the attainment of Independence. Mention may here be made of the role played by the A.I.C.C. Economic Review, the fortnightly journal of the Economic and Political Research Department of All India Congress Committee, in bringing to the fore the problem of Village Panchayats in India and concentrating attention on them. As early as November 14, 1953, Congress General Secretary, Shri S.N. Agarwal, had addressed a Questionnaire on Village Panchayats to the State Governments and Congress organisation, and earlier, on November 1, 1953, the leading article of the Review entitled 'Planning from the Bottom' had drawn attention to the need of preparing the Second Five Year Plan on the basis of our villages.

The Central Government, as also the Planning Commission gave attention to the problem of Village Panchayats and a circular of the Planning Commission, dated April 28, 1954, addressed to all the State Governments, drew pointed attention to the need of preparing the Second Five Year Plan on the basis of districts and villages. As a part of the same policy, the Central Ministry of Health decided to convene a Conference of all Local Self-Government Ministers of different States. The Conference was convened at Simla and Dr. K. N. Katju, a member of the Congress Village Panchayat Committee, Shri S. N. Agarwal, the Convener of the Committee and Shri H.D. Malaviya, Secretary of the Economic and Political Research Department of the All India Congress Committee, were specially invited to this Conference. The Conference, was held on the 25th, 26th and 27th June 1954. At this Conference the representatives of the Congress Village Panchayat Committee, took a leading part in the discussions. Copies of the A. I. C. C. Economic Review and abstracts of the replies of the State Governments to our Village Panchayat Questionnaire prepared by the A. I. C. C. Secretariat were placed before the invitees to the Simla Conference; and in her Presidential address, the Central Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, made a pointed mention to the ideas propounded by the A. I. C. C. Economic Review on the question of Village Panchayats.

The Committee held various meetings and on the 23rd July, 1954, presented its report to the Working Committee at its meeting at Ajmer. The summary of recommendations is given below :

1. The Panchayat system provides a sound basis for the establishment of healthy democratic traditions in India. Its development should be encouraged and fostered by the State to enable the masses of our people to participate in the business of administration and other aspects of community life, social, economic and judicial.

2. For the achievement of the objectives laid down in the Constitution, the Village Panchayats should serve not only as units of Local Self-Government but also as effective institutions for securing social justice and fostering corporate life resulting in fuller employment.

3. The basic principles underlying the Constitution can be adequately fulfilled if a serious and systematic attempt is made to bring about decentralisation of economic and political power through the institution of Village Panchayats.

4. The introduction of far-reaching land reforms has resulted in the removal of the system of intermediaries who formerly were performing some essential functions in the village society, like credit, marketing, supplies etc. The State should now try to provide these services through the promotion of Village Panchayats.

5. Village Panchayats should develop a type of democracy through which will evolve a leadership representing all elements of village life to conduct the affairs of the Community.

6. The success of Village Panchayats will depend on the enthusiasm that they create and the feeling of oneness that they generate in the village community and the confidence they enjoy of all sections of the village population. It is, therefore, necessary to keep the Panchayats, as far as possible, away from party politics.

7. Great importance should be attached to the need of unanimity in the elections of Village Panchayats. With a view to encouraging unanimity, it may be desirable to invest with more authority and power those Panchayats which elect their Panchas unanimously.

8. While deviations from the above basic concept should be avoided as far as possible, it must be borne in mind that for the day-to-day functioning of the Panchayats, no rigidity can be maintained in the country as a whole and it should be left to the States to evolve their pattern of Village Panchayats in accordance with local traditions, conditions and requirements.

9. Elections of the Village Panchayats should be on the basis of adult franchise. All the adults of the village should constitute a Gaon Sabha. Where this number is too large, representatives from each family of the village may form the Gaon Sabha. The Village Panchayat elected by the Gaon Sabha will be in the

nature of its executive. The strength of the Village Panchayat will depend on the population of the village. It should generally be a multiple of five. There should be reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes proportionate to their population.

10. The system of election of the Village Panchayats should be as simple as possible. There will be no difficulty in those Panchayats where elections happen to be unanimous. Where there is no unanimity for all the members, elections may take place through secret vote. This procedure also can be simplified by the use of village pots or tin canisters. If necessary, the election officer may be allowed to register the votes of the members of the Gaon Sabha secretly in a separate room. The Committee would not, however, like to rule out completely the system of elections by show of hands in a village, where the Gaon Sabha is agreeable to such a procedure.

11. The unit of village Panchayat organisation should be generally on the basis of one village upto a population ranging from 1,500 to 2,000. Only such Panchayats will be able to work and plan on the basis of the felt needs of the community. Conditions, however, differ from State to State and it is not possible to be rigid in this matter. Wherever necessary, few small villages could be combined into one Village Panchayat.

12. It would be helpful to have some form of a supervisory body to regulate and co-ordinate the activities of the Panchayats, and these supervisory bodies may also have some executive functions. Such bodies may preferably be set at the Sub-Divisional level, though their existence at the District level or other convenient levels is not ruled out. Such supervisory bodies should not be nominated but should be indirectly elected by Sarpanchas. Some technical experts may be associated with its work without the right to vote.

13. The Panchayats should have different functions municipal, social, economic, judicial etc. The municipal functions should include sanitation, village roads, construction and maintenance of community buildings, drainage, provision for drinking water, street lighting etc. Education may be entrusted to the

Panchayats in case they are not being looked after by the District Boards. In such cases, the educational functions of the Panchayats should be under the supervision of Education Department of the State. In addition to certain compulsory municipal functions, there may be some discretionary functions also which the State Governments may entrust to the Village Panchayats in accordance with their efficiency of working.

14. The composition and functions of the judicial or Adalati Panchayats should be separate from the Village Panchayats. Each judicial Panchayat should serve a few villages covering a population of about 5 to 6 thousand, in a radius of, say, 3 miles. Each Gaon Sabha should elect along with their representatives for the Village Panchayat, a panel of 5 members to work on the judicial Panchayat. On this basis, the judicial Panchayat should consist of about 30 such members elected from a few villages. Cases should be tried by a bench of five out of the members of the judicial Panchayats by a system of the rotation. The cases should be heard and disposed of in the village, to which the particular case belongs, and the whole legal procedure should be completed in one sitting in order to avoid unnecessary delays. The atmosphere of these judicial Panchayats should be free from the existing atmosphere of courts in order to render village justice simple, cheap and expeditious. No lawyer should be permitted to appear in these judicial Panchayats. In each judicial panel of five elected by the Village Panchayat, there should be at least one Harijan and one woman.

15. Planning in India can be successful and achieve its objectives only if it is based upon our villages. In this, the Village Panchayats will have to play a vital role. For this purpose the Development Councils envisaged in the Five Year plan should be woven around the Village Panchayats. This would help in creating a permanent kind of leadership in the village and would be able to cover all aspects of rural development. The Community Project and National Extension Service officers and the village level workers should actively help in the evolution and growth of Village Panchayats so that they may be equipped to

shoulder an ever-growing responsibility for the implementation of the National Plan in their area.

16. Special provision should be made for the training of workers to make them fully competent to take up development works in all their technicalities. This would create opportunities for unemployed youngmen. Attempt should be made to enlist the cooperation of non-official agencies, like the Sarva Seva Sangh, the Gandhi National Memorial Trust and the Kasturba Gandhi National Trust for such work.

17. The Panchayats should be increasingly assigned the task of revenue collection and 15 to 25 per cent of the collections should be allotted to them for their day-to-day functioning. The Panchayats should also be empowered to levy a labour tax. But, as far as possible, efforts should be made to get voluntary contributions in the form of Shramdan. In case an individual is not prepared to work in lieu of the labour tax, he should be asked to contribute in cash twice the amount of labour work. The management of common lands of the village can be a third source of income for the Village Panchayats. When a Panchayat has successfully worked for sometime, then alone it may be permitted to impose taxes under the following heads :

1. Tax on land holdings ;
2. Vehicles tax ;
3. Profession Tax ;
4. Tax on Tea shops etc ;
- and 5. Revenue from management of hats, bazars, mela grounds, etc.

Under the existing circumstances, State aid is absolutely essential to enable the Panchayats to carry on their work properly.

18. Functions and organisation of the Co-operatives and Village Panchayats must be kept separate from each other for a variety of reasons e.g., scope of Co-operative is wider than the Village Panchayats, it is optional and not compulsory like the latter, etc. Village Panchayats, however, must mobilise support for the growth of Co-operatives, which in their turn should periodically report their progress to the Panchayats.

AJMER A.I.C.C. MEETING

The Working Committee at its meeting dated 4th April, 1954, decided that the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. be convened at Ajmer in the second week of July 1954.

On the 22nd May, the Working Committee accepted the suggestion of the Ajmer P. C. C. that the A. I. C. C. should have its session beginning from 17th July 1954. It further decided that the session may be extended by one week if so desired by the Ajmer P. C. C. to suit their convenience.

The Working Committee met at Ajmer on the 23rd and 24th July 1954 and it finalised the agenda for the meeting of the A. I. C. C., scheduled to be held on the 25th and 26th July 1954.

The Ajmer P. C. C. made elaborate arrangements for the holding of the A. I. C. C. meeting. A strong and beautiful Pandal was set up in the play ground of the Mayo College. Arrangements for housing the A. I. C. C. members were made in the houses named after the former States. The Working Committee had its meetings in the Principal's bungalow. A small Sarvodaya Exhibition was also arranged by the Reception Committee. It mainly consisted of the handicrafts of Ajmer and Rajasthan. The Exhibition attracted quite a good number of visitors and it was open for over two weeks. The Mayo College authorities arranged a students' function, as also a very instructive map of India showing River Valley Projects and means of various communications in India. Besides the Congress activities, the Reception Committee arranged two cultural shows on the 25th and 26th night.

The All India Congress Committee met in the A. I. C. C. Pandal at Mayo College on Sunday, the 25th July, 1954 under the Presidentship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. 213 members were present. The Committee adopted 13 resolutions,

The first was condolence resolution expressing deep sense of sorrow and grief at the deaths of :

1. Dr. Satya Pal, Punjab.
2. Shri H. Siddiah, Mysore.
3. Shri B. S. Pathik, Ajmer.
4. Shrimati Durgabai Joshi, Vidarbha.
5. Baba Gurdutt Singh, Punjab.
6. Kaka Saheb Parwe, Maharashtra.
7. Shri Nawal Jerajani, Bombay,
8. Shri Karuppiyah Bharati, Tamilnad.

Through the second resolution, the A. I. C. C. resolved that the birthday centenary of Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak be celebrated throughout India in 1956 in a befitting manner.

The third resolution regarding "Planned Development" was as follows :

"The objective of the Congress is the establishment of co-operative commonwealth and a Welfare State. This necessarily involves the elimination of unemployment, the production of much greater wealth in the country, and the proper and equitable distribution of this among the people. For the purpose, the present social structure, which still continues to be partly based on an acquisitive economy, has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy.

"Planning must keep this in view and in working out programmes, the physical content should be emphasised. The great manpower and labour force of India should be utilised to the largest possible extent and changes brought about in the economy by improved techniques, which are so essential, should be such as not to lead to an overall increase in unemployment. Planning should further aim at satisfying the needs of the people as the national and per capita income increases.

"As there can be no effective planning without full statistical data and systematic knowledge, every effort should be made to collect these data all over the country. In particular, full information should be obtained about the mineral resources. The

development of railways, transport and other forms of communications must keep pace with increasing production. Planning thus must keep in view an integrated picture not only of the whole country but also of the various activities which form part of the plan."

The fourth resolution entitled "Review" expressed satisfaction at the improvement in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievements of some of the targets laid down in the national plan. The text of the resolution was as under :

"The A. I. C. C. has noted with satisfaction the improvement in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievements of some of the targets laid down in the National Plan. Production generally has increased and, at the same time, prices have come down, thus indicating a healthy tendency, which should enable the State to proceed at a much faster pace with programmes of development and public works. In particular, the Committee is gratified at the very great improvement in the food situation in the country which has exceeded expectations and the targets laid down and has assured the country of an adequate supply of foodgrains.

"The Committee also expresses its satisfaction over the improvement in the handloom industry which had suffered considerably during past years, resulting in distress to the large numbers of weavers engaged in this industry. Rural conditions generally have shown some progress, even in regard to employment.

"The opening of the Bhakra-Nangal canal system is also a symbol of achievement in a project of great magnitude over which the country can legitimately take pride.

"The Committee is particularly gratified at the substantial progress made in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes which already over 50,000 villages and a population of 35 million and through which it is intended to reach every village in India by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. This tremendous undertaking will bring about basic

change in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. The success in these schemes is not only due to the trained workers but also to the public response, which such schemes have evoked.

“ These advances and the progress made all over the country in various directions have produced a sense of self-reliance and achievement in the people and thus strengthened them for the great task ahead.

“ While fully appreciating these achievements and the progressive improvements in the rural areas of the country, the Committee views with concern the unemployment that exists more especially in the urban areas. This problem demands an approach from various directions, including large-scale public works, and the growth of cottage and small-scale industry, as well as big industry.”

The fifth resolution urged that the rapid growth of industry in the country is essential in order to increase the wealth of the people and give full employment to them. It expressed hope that an organised effort should be made and schemes prepared to tap the financial resources in the rural areas. The full text of the resolution is given below :

“ The rapid growth of Industry in the country is essential in order to increase the wealth of the people and give full employment to them. The First Five-Year Plan laid particular stress on agriculture and good production and has achieved considerable success in those objectives. While agriculture must continue to be important and demand full attention, the growth of industry must henceforth be emphasised and find a major place in the Second Five-Year Plan.

“ The basic objectives of our economic policy should be :

- (1) maximum production ;
- (2) full employment ;
- and (3) social and economic justice.

“ The country already has a powerful State-owned public sector in Industry. This should be enlarged by the addition of

other basic and new industries, wherever possible. Where social ownership of basic industries is not possible in the near future, effective social control should be exercised. The resources of the country should be utilised in building new state industries and not in nationalising existing private industries, except where this is considered necessary in the national interest.

“ In the conditions at present prevailing in the country, the private sector is both important and necessary in the industrial development of India. Such private sector should be given adequate freedom to develop, within the limits of the National Plan and subject to the conditions laid down by it. It should function as a part of the National Plan keeping before it the national good and not merely the individual or group interest. Wherever necessary, the pattern of management should be changed so as to fit it with the objectives of the Plan and to remove the evils which have existed in the past.

“ While attaching importance to the growth of big-scale industry, the Committee is strongly of opinion that small-scale village and cottage industries are and will continue to be an essential part of the economy of India and must be encouraged in every way. Such industries are likely to help in providing employment even more than the big industries. Improved techniques should be introduced in them and, wherever possible, electric power used. But in any change over due to new techniques, the question of adding to unemployment must be borne in mind.

“ Wherever possible, the spheres of production between large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries should be demarcated.

“ Widespread provision should be made for cheap electric power. Where power is being generated by the river valley projects or otherwise, special attention should be paid to taking this to the villages for utilisation in agriculture and small-scale industries.

“ Financial assistance in the form of cheap credit should be provided for the organisation of industrial co-operatives and

cooperative marketing for products of small-scale and village industries should also be organised.

“ Research and training in improved techniques and methods of production should be organised.

“ The Committee has noted that certain enquiries have been instituted in regard to cottage and small-scale industries and valuable reports have been received. Some further reports are likely to be presented to Government soon. The Committee hopes that early attention will be paid to the recommendations made in these reports with a view to organising cottage and small-scale industries on a widespread and progressive basis.

“ An organised effort should be made and schemes prepared to tap the financial resources in the rural areas. In particular, it is desirable to start State insurance through the Post Offices, especially in the villages.”

The sixth resolution dealt with the foreign establishments in India. The resolution expressed hope that an agreement would be arrived at an early date between the Government of India and French Government to cover all these establishments and to bring them within the Indian Union. The hope has since been fulfilled on the 1st November 1954. The full text of the resolution is given below :

“ The Committee has noted with satisfaction that the people of the French Establishment in India have declared themselves, both through their elected representatives and otherwise, in favour of a merger with India, and that, in fact, a large number of these establishments have already freed themselves from foreign control. The Committee trusts that an agreement will be arrived at an early date between the Government of India and the French Government to cover all these establishments and to bring them within the Indian Union.

“ The Congress has repeatedly declared that in regard to these French establishments as well as the Portuguese establishments in India, their religion, culture, customs and languages will be given adequate protection.

“The Committee regrets to note that the Portuguese Government has taken up a wholly indefensible attitude in regard to Goa and its other establishments in India and is carrying on a policy of intense repression against those who favour merger with India.

“The integration of these foreign establishments into the Indian Union is an essential part of the liberation movement in India which led to the independence of India. That movement will not have fulfilled its purpose till these foreign pockets also are freed and brought into the Indian Union.”

The seventh resolution about “International Affairs” welcomed the agreement on a cease-fire in Indo-China and congratulated all the Governments concerned on this success. The A. I. C. C. expressed hope that this will be followed by peaceful settlements of the problem of the East, South-East Asia so that the disastrous conflicts which have brought ruin to some countries of Asia and prevented their progress should be finally ended. The resolution read as follows :

“The A. I. C. C. welcomes the agreement on cease-fire in Indo-China and congratulates all the Governments which have, in spite of great difficulties, laboured unceasingly to this end and achieved success at last. The ending of the seven-year old war in Indo-China is an event of major importance not only in India, but in the world. For the first time, since the end of the Second World War, there is peace between all the nations. The A. I. C. C. trusts that this will be followed by peaceful settlements of the problems of the East and South-East Asia, so that the disastrous conflicts which have brought ruin to some countries of Asia and prevented their progress should be finally ended.

“The Committee welcomes the declarations that the States of Indo-China will not join any military alliance or pact and will thus form part of an area of peace.

“The Committee welcomes the five principles which have been agreed upon between India and China and Burma and China as the basis of their relations. These principles involving recog-

dition of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity non-aggression and non-interference, have a wider application and, wherever applied, can be made the basis of peaceful co-existence, which is so necessary in the world to-day. The Committee would welcome joint declarations based on these principles between India and other countries. The maintenance of peace and friendly relations between countries depends upon the recognition of the fact that each country has a right to fashion its own political and economic structure and must not interfere, externally or internally, in the political and economic structure in other countries. Only on this basis is peaceful co-existence and co-operation possible. The Committee welcomes therefore the growing acceptance of this basis of international relationships.

"The recognition of the independence of the countries of Indo-China is to be welcomed as putting an end to colonial rule in that part of Asia. The disastrous war, which has devastated Indo-China for seven years, would not have taken place if this independence had been previously recognised. The Committee hopes that in other colonial areas of the world, rapid progress towards independence will be made, in order to avert a repetition of similar disasters. The ending of colonial rule is essential for the development of peaceful co-existence of nations.

"The agreement of Indo-China is a landmark in the post-war history of Asia and brings greater responsibilities to the countries of Asia. Those responsibilities can only be discharged adequately by these countries co-operating together to build up an area of peace which is not aligned to any of the powerful groups of the world.

"The Committee hopes that this agreement on Indo-China will result in the lessening of tensions all over the world and the fear and suspicion which have clouded international relations, and will help in creating an atmosphere favourable to the solution of other problems. In order to promote this atmosphere of a peaceful settlement, it is desirable to avoid any step which is in the nature of a threat or warning to any country or group which, instead of helping the cause of peace, must inevitably create suspicion and apprehension."

The eighth resolution was about land reform which had always been a matter of deep concern to the Congress. The full text of the resolution is given below :

“ The reform of the land system has always been a matter of deep concern to the Congress. Considerable progress has been made in the abolition of the Zamindari and Jagirdari and like systems. But much remains to be done in order to ensure social justice and, at the same time, to help in the economic development of the country. While in a large number of States, intermediaries have been eliminated, this has not necessarily resulted in the tiller owning the land. As conditions differ in various States, a uniform approach is not feasible, but the general principles and objective should apply to all parts of the country. The process of eliminating the intermediaries must be completed all over India without delay.

“ In a number of States, legislation has been enacted as a result of which the scale of rents has been progressively brought down and tenants have obtained security of tenure and the right to acquire ownership of their holdings on payment of a moderate compensation. The pace of progress in this direction has, however, not been rapid enough.

“ The essential purpose underlying all these measures of reform is to make the tiller have full rights over the land he cultivates, and at the same time, to build up a co-operative organisation of rural life and agricultural activities, so as to ensure the most rational and effective use of the country's resources.

“ The enforcement of an upper limit, for purposes of future acquisition of land as well as in respect of existing holdings, as laid down in the Five Year Plan is a necessary step and early attention should be given by the States to this aspect of land reform. To take effective steps to this end, adequate data are necessary. For this purpose, a census of land holdings was initiated some time ago. The Committee regrets that there has been delay in carrying out this census ; it trusts that every effort will be made to expedite this process.

“In the transitional stage, and because of varying conditions in different States, many problems arise, the solution of which has to be adjusted to these conditions. The ejection of tenants resulting from the resumption of land by owners for personal cultivation has, in certain States, become a matter for anxious consideration. Every tenant must be assured secure occupation of at least a minimum holding.

“While an equitable distribution of land is necessary, this has to be accompanied by a full and proper utilisation of the land for increased production. Improved techniques should, therefore, be used and co-operative methods progressively introduced.”

Through the ninth resolution about “Constructive and Developmental Work” the A.I.C.C. expressed the great importance it gave to the constructive and developmental work and directed the President and General Secretaries to organise this in an effective manner. The resolution was as follows :

“Since the Congress has undertaken the responsibility and burden of the governance of India, both at the Centre and in the States, the parliamentary programme of the Congress is necessarily important and requires full and constant attention. But the Congress has always laid stress on constructive activities in the country. Indeed, such activities, on the widest scale, are not only important in themselves, but are essential prerequisites for the success of parliamentary work.

“The strength of the Congress has come from its roots in the people and the service it has rendered to the people by its constructive activities. These activities have now increased and widened in scope and, in fact, cover all the developmental schemes in the country. Congress Members of Parliament and State Assemblies must remain in constant touch with their constituencies and participate in constructive and developmental activities.

“A special responsibility, however, rests on other Congressmen, who are not directly associated with parliamentary work, to devote, themselves to these constructive and developmental

activities. These activities include the old constructive programme of the Congress which comprises, inter alia, communal unity, work for Harijans and Adivasis, and cottage and village industries. They should also include work for the Bhoodan Movement, the organisation of co-operatives and every kind of possible help in the developmental programmes of the Five Year Plan. In particular, Congressmen should associate themselves with, and take active interest in the Community Projects and National extension Service Schemes. They should do this not only through the Advisory Committees for these schemes, but by offering themselves for the training laid down for village workers and other types of workers for the Community Project and National Extension Service Schemes.

“In this way, the Congress will be directly associated with the great task of building up New India and Congressmen will come into close contact with and serve the people more especially in the rural areas.

“The A.I.C.C. attaches great importance to this constructive and developmental work and directs the President and General Secretaries to organise this in an effective manner. The Pradesh Congress Committees should do likewise.”

By the tenth resolution, the A.I.C.C. ratified the decision of the Working Committee for holding the Congress delegate elections on the Congress Membership list of 1953.

Through the eleventh resolution, the number of delegates from Bombay was increased from 45 to 50.

By the twelfth resolution, the A.I.C.C. recommended that a Law Commission be appointed as in England, to revise the law promulgated nearly a century back by the Law Commission of Macaulay and to advise on current legislation from time to time.

The last resolution regarding Gandhi National Memorial Fund read as follows :

“While collecting the amount for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, the workers and donors were informed that three

fourths of the collections from a particular place would be spent locally. About five years have elapsed since the closing of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. It is a matter of regret that in no area the requisite portion of the collection has yet been spent. Through this resolution the attention of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund authorities is invited to this fact. There is one more point that deserves consideration. Because of the disappointment of the people regarding the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi enormous difficulties are experienced while collecting any other fund."

Reviewing the A.I.C.C. session at Ajmer, the Congress President wrote as follows to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees on the 29th July 1954 :

"I have just come back from the Ajmer Session of the A.I.C.C. Most of you were present there and you must have carried with you some definite impressions about this session. I think it is true to say that this session represented a solid step forward. I am not referring to its spectacular aspect and the large crowds that came to it, indicating the great interest that the public takes in Congress proceedings. That interest is welcome. But I think we shall have to consider how we should proceed in future in regard to meetings of the All India Congress Committee. It is difficult to have any real discussion in a committee when tens of thousands of people surround us. Some way out will have to be found for this in future so that we might have profitable discussions in the committee.

"The resolutions passed by the A.I.C.C. almost all deal with internal problems of development. There were some formal resolutions, and there were two, dealing with international affairs and the foreign pockets in India. The other resolutions are entirely devoted to our internal situation and more particularly to the various steps to be taken to build up new India. It is interesting to note that, unlike the usual resolutions passed by political organisations, these resolutions do not criticise or condemn anybody, but are directed to ourselves and our own work. That is a healthy approach, because it is by our common work that

we will prosper and progress and not by condemning others. This is the approach of a nation possessing self-reliance and confidence in its own strength.

“The resolution on “Review” gives the general tone, that of a feeling of achievement and fulfilment. This can on no account be interpreted as meaning that we are complacent or smug about our work, But it does indicate, in a balanced way, that we are marching ahead as a nation and we have a right to express our satisfaction at this. We have a large number of critics in this country and outside whose chief function seems to be to run down what is happening ‘in the country. They do not even take the trouble of finding out what is happening and the numerous steps forward that are being taken in various directions and activities all over the country. At any time this defeatist attitude would be deplorable. At the present juncture, when there is the least reason for it, it is still more surprising and unfortunate.

“We have to keep a balanced picture before us, in no way exaggerating our successes and also in no way minimising them and always remembering what we have got to do.

“The resolution on planned development is important as laying down the general approach to future work and planning. It is not a flashy resolution laying down some distant ideal, but a sober approach to our problems and the way we endeavour to solve them in a peaceful way in our democratic set up. It indicates that the present social structure has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy. Further, it says that planning should not be merely a collection of projects, important as they are, but should keep the physical content in view.

“While land reform continues to be basically important, the emphasis on industry has grown. This was natural because it is through industrial development, both in regard to big industry and cottage and small scale industry, that we can add to the production and the wealth of the country.

“I would particularly invite your attention to the last resolution namely, the one dealing with constructive and develop-

mental work, This resolution is not a mere repetition of what we have said in the past, important as that was. It is a broader and more comprehensive approach to this problem, including in its scope not only the items of our old constructive programme, but also of the developmental work in the country. Congressmen should particularly interest themselves in this work because, after all, this is the most important work in India. It would be a sorry day when we think that our work consists merely in participating in Parliament and Assemblies. This is only a part of the work.

“ I trust that you will take early steps to explain the full purport of these resolutions to Congressmen in your Province, and take steps to give effect to them in so far as your Congress Committees can do so. It is important that Congressmen should know what is being done in India at present in regard to constructive and developmental work and should find a place for themselves in it in their own particular areas.

“ The Ajmer Session of the A.I.C.C. has brought encouragement to all of us. We have now to build on that and go ahead in the right direction and at a faster pace.”

COMMUNALISM

Towards the middle of 1954 there were communal disturbances in Uttar Pradesh and Hyderabad. The places affected were Pilibhit, Meerut, Mathura, Nizamabad and Aurangabad. These disturbances were not good either from the national or international point of view. The Congress President and others felt perturbed over these incidents, and the former in his letter, dated August 24, 1954, to the Presidents of the P.C.Cs. wrote as follows :

“ For some time past, I have been deeply concerned at the growing tendency to indulge in some kind of violent activity in our public life. The very essence of a democratic state is its functioning in an atmosphere of peace. Problems, however difficult, are solved by peaceful methods, by discussion, negotiation, conciliation and persuasion. A decision once taken is accepted even by those who may not agree with it, who maintain the right to get the decision changed by peaceful methods. Till it is changed, they accept it. If this basic conception of democracy is not accepted, then democracy itself cannot function.

2. I recognise the right of any group to agitate for a cause, provided that agitation is completely peaceful. I can even conceive of peaceful satyagraha, although the occasions for this should be rare in a democratic society. But in no event should violent action be conceived or encouraged.

3. If we were against violence when we were carrying on our struggle for freedom how much more so must we be now when we have attained that freedom and have the normal democratic apparatus for solving our problems. And yet, the fact remains that frequent outbursts of violence take place over domestic problems. In the name of satyagraha, activities are indulged which almost invariably lead to violent demonstrations. There

have been many instances of this kind of thing happening among students as well as others.

4. I am not discussing any special incident or apportioning any blame. I am merely pointing out this tendency to try to attain some objective, however petty it might be, or to bring about a change through methods which are either violent in themselves or which inevitably lead to violence. I think that this is a very dangerous tendency. It is the business of every citizen to discourage. It is more especially the business of Congressmen to do so.

5. What has troubled me very much have been occasional communal conflicts and violence. Some recent incidents, as at Aligarh, Pilibhit and Nizamabad, have been very painful. Again, I am not analysing any particular incident or apportioning blame. But certain factors stand out. Some rumour is spread or some petty incident takes place which has no importance. This leads to excitement and conflict. Take the Nizamabad case. Some miscreant put up a Pakistani flag on a statue of Mahatma Gandhi at night. No one knew who had done it. It might have been an Indian or a foreigner, a Hindu, a Muslim or a Christian. Whoever he was, he was a mischief-maker, and the matter should have been dealt with on that level. But people get excited or are encouraged to become excited and arson and conflict follow.

6. This means that we are at the mercy of any mischief-maker who wants to create trouble. This is a very dangerous state of affairs. A foreign spy can excite our people and create trouble, or some goodna or other may do so, hoping to profit by the upset caused.

7. I want you and others to appreciate how ridiculous all this is, apart from its being rather shameful, and how it is discrediting us. In an organised State, people do not function in this way. If somebody misbehaves, the State deals with this matter and not the public.

8. I am writing to you briefly on this subject, but I feel strongly about it because this is bringing disgrace to our country

and encouraging disruptive forces, whether Hindu or Muslim or any other. In the modern world, people do not quarrel because they belong to different religions. Unfortunately, they quarrel about other matters and even go to war, but they do not do so on the basis of religion. To do so is a sign of backwardness and exhibits a lack of that toleration of spirit for which India has prided herself.

9. I should like you to give consideration to this matter and to make all Congressmen feel that it is their duty to fight this tendency."

In his earlier letter dated August 5, 1954 to the Presidents of the P.C.Cs., the Congress President expressed the under-noted views regarding Secularism, Casteism, and Communalism :

"I am writing this letter to you from Dalhousie where I have been for the last two days. Before I came here, I went to Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. It is always a pleasure to visit these mountain areas, but, apart from the pleasure, it gives me some opportunity to think of the issues that confront us.

2. Whatever the other issues might be, and they are important, it has always seemed to me that the primary consideration for the progress of India, political, social, and economic, is what I would call the emotional integration of India. Politically we are now a well-knit country. We have, if I may say so, a strong and stable Government at the Centre, which itself represents an integrated India. There are also many forces which help in this unifying process. But, there are other forces also which tend to disintegrate and weaken this unity. Some of the people who encourage these disintegrating tendencies may do so intentionally, others perhaps unintentionally and not realising the consequence of what they are doing. So far as the Congress is concerned and indeed others also, we can never grow complacent, for complacency means a static position which leads to stagnation and decay. It means also an unawareness of these various forces at play, some good and some bad.

3. We call our State a secular one. The word "secular" perhaps is not a very happy one. And yet, for want of a better word, we have used it. What exactly does it mean? It does not obviously mean a State where religion as such is discouraged. It means freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion. It means free play for all religions, subject only to their not interfering with each other or with the basic conceptions of our State. It means that the minority communities, from the religious point of view, should accept this position. It means, even more, that the majority community, from this point of view should fully realise it. For, by virtue of numbers as well as in other ways, it is the dominant community and it is on its responsibility not to use its position in any way which might prejudice our secular ideal.

4. The word "secular", however, conveys something much more to me, although that might not be its dictionary meaning. It conveys the idea of social and political equality. Thus, a caste-ridden society is not properly secular. I have no desire to interfere with any person's belief, but where those beliefs become petrified in caste divisions, undoubtedly, they affect the social structure of the State. They prevent us from realising the ideal of equality which we claim to place before ourselves. They interfere in political matters, just as communalism interferes. We have opposed communalism and continue to be stoutly opposed to it. It is, in fact, a negation of nationalism and of the national State. Communalism means the dominance of one religious community. If that community is in a minority, this is opposed to all ideas of democracy. But if that community is in a majority, even so its dominance over others as a religious community would be wholly undemocratic. There is no chance of a minority community gaining this dominant position in a democratic set-up. It is possible, however, for a majority community to do so. If that happens, it may well be said that the majority is a religious majority, functioning as such.

5. Therefore, we have opposed communalism not only in minority communities, but also in the majority community. This

argument applies to caste divisions and their functioning on the political plane. There can be no doubt that they do function often enough in this way, in elections and in other ways. We have condemned casteism in Congress resolutions. But it exists and encourages fissiparous tendencies and maintains divisions in our society, which undoubtedly weaken and prevent the growth of a real democratic spirit. Many of us perhaps do not attach enough importance to this. But, I have no doubt that casteism is as dangerous as communalism and both are effective barriers, if they are strong enough, to the development of true democracy and equality.

6. We are apt to take pride in our tradition of tolerance. It is always dangerous to have this complacent attitude about oneself because it hides the truth from us. Few people can see their own weakness and failings although they are wide awake to the failings of others. I am mentioning this matter to you because I feel it is something which requires continuous and effective handling by us. We should not compromise with it or tolerate it for the sake of some temporary gain.

7. The Congress, during its long history, has performed many services to India ; among the greatest of them is the building up of India's unity. That service was not completed by the attainment of independence. It is still the historic destiny of the Congress to labour for the real emotional unity and integration of India. That means that we must strike at every disintegrating tendency, and communalism and casteism are undoubtedly two such tendencies, which have weakened in the past and which may well weaken her in the future.

8. Every communal organisation deliberately seeks the dominance of its own community or special privileges for it. Some Hindu communal organisations talk about a Hindu Rashtra. It is patent that whatever that might be, it is neither nationalism nor democracy. It is a throw-back to some ideas of a medieval period. That is clear enough. But perhaps all of us are not clear about caste. That is equally a throw-back and has no meaning in a society which claims to develop equality.

9. Our Constitution is based on this secular conception and gives freedom to all religions, even freedom to proselytize. Personally, I do not appreciate attempts at proselytization. But that is a personal opinion of my own, and I have no business to thrust it on others. I can understand an individual changing his religion because of certain convictions. I do not understand attempts at mass conversions, which can have no business with individual or personal conviction and which have often behind them some political urge.

10. The question of Christian missionaries has been much discussed lately. This refers especially to foreign missionaries in India. So far as religious freedom to propagate one's faith is concerned, every religion has that freedom in India, subject always to certain consideration. Where foreign missionaries are concerned, it is not the religious question that is at issue, but rather the question of the admission of foreigners into India for any purpose. We do not wish to close up India to foreigners, and indeed we have welcomed them. But we apply certain rules in regard to their entry which have nothing to do with religion. Large numbers of foreigners in a country may well create new problems. They may affect certain professions or some activities which we do not wish to encourage. Therefore, certain rules have to be laid down. So far as foreign Christian missionaries are concerned, there is no doubt that they have done very good work in many parts of India. There is also little doubt that some of them have not functioned to the advantage of India. They may be good-intentioned, but their objectives, political or social, might not be the same as ours. Politically, we do not wish to encourage any foreigner to live within some of our frontier zones. This has nothing to do with religion. Their presence there creates problems and we have to apply our rules with a certain strictness in these frontier areas.

11. Some difficulties have arisen in regard to missionary activities in tribal areas. I like these tribal folk very much as I have often said. They are a fine people. I should like to help them. But, I do not wish to interfere with them too much. Missionary activities amongst them, whether Christian, Hindu or

Muslims or any other, often create disturbances in the mass mind which might well lead to conflicts. It can hardly be said that there are individual conversions due to conviction.

12. There are at present not only Christian missionary activities but Hindu and Muslim also in various areas. There is Shuddhi Movement, which appears to me to be very largely political. It is this political tinge, which has nothing to do with real religion, that I deprecate. There is also a tendency in some parts of India for an aggressive attitude to be adopted towards Christian missionaries. I think that this kind of thing should be sternly discouraged. It is no part of our nationalism and it gives reign to a narrow and bigoted approach to a problem which should be dealt with calmly on the national level.

13. The result of this aggressive attitude is to create a feeling of apprehension in the minds of Indian Christians who form a very considerable and important element in the national community. Anything that creates such an apprehension in the minds of any group in India is to be deprecated. It tends to disturb and it is opposed to our secular ideal. We must always remember that minority religious communities in India such as the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Buddhists, the Jains, the Jews etc. are as much part of India as anyone else. Not to consider them as such immediately leads us away from both our secular and democratic ideals and weakens the unity of India.

14.* I want all Congressmen to bear this clearly in mind. We must not allow ourselves even unconsciously to adopt attitudes which are wrong and opposed to what we stand for. It may be that, by adopting a strong attitude in these matters, we displease some people or we lose an election. It is better to do so than to lose our faith in our cause and in our ideals.

15. We have to contend against other disruptive tendencies. There is provincialism, and now we have some kind of a tussle going on all over India on the question of the reorganisation of States. Linguistic Provinces have obviously some virtue and logic. But this idea of linguistic Provinces may well become a

curse if we do not restrain ourselves and do not keep in mind the unity of India. In many States, there are vocal groups which put forward their cases for linguistic States with excessive vigour. I have found that the common man is usually not interested in this problem of reorganisation of States. Indeed, he hardly understands it, though he may be roused up by some slogan.

16. We must always remember that India is a multi-lingual country. It is fortunate that Hindi, in slightly different forms, is the language of a very large part of the country. But, there are other great languages which are equally part of our country and have to be respected and encouraged. Our approach must never be to crush a language however small it might be. If linguistic States are desirable, so also is the language of a small area to be encouraged, because both give a certain psychological satisfaction and enable a community to grow. Where linguistic claims lead to exclusiveness, arrogance and aggressiveness, then they are dangerous and disruptive and have to be countered.

17. It is obvious that it is not possible to draw any map of India strictly confined to each language in a particular area. There are bound to be bi-lingual or multi-lingual areas. If we do not approach this question in a spirit of give and take and compromise and good neighbourliness and freedom of growth for everyone then we shall always come into conflict with each other.

18. I have mentioned in this letter some of the major disruptive tendencies in India. I would repeat that it is the historic task of the Congress to face this situation with courage and not through fear or weakness, to compromise with any tendency that is bad for the future of India and her people. We must always keep the ideal of the unity of India and of the political and social equality of her people, to whatever group, religion or province they might belong. We must work also for the realisation of a progressive economic equality. That may take some time, but our efforts should always tend to that end. For that purpose, we must create a climate of social equality."

The Working Committee considered this question at their meeting dated September 25, 1954, and was of the opinion that

the State Governments should be requested to impress upon the district authorities that presumption will be against them if any communal disturbances take place in area under their charge. The State Governments should impose punitive tax on the community or area which on enquiry is found to be in the wrong.

The Committee further decided that public in general and Congressmen in particular should be told that such disturbances are harmful both from the national as well as international point of view and that they should make efforts to see that they do not recur in future.

The State Governments and in some cases P.C.Cs. made a thorough enquiry into the communal disturbances with a view to arrive at the root cause of the trouble. The State Governments have taken due precautions. It is hoped that such disturbances will not recur in future.

CONSTRUCTIVE AND DEVELOPMENTAL WORK

The A.I.C.C. at Ajmer passed a comprehensive resolution about Constructive and Developmental Work. The last para of the resolution said that the A.I.C.C. attached great importance to this constructive and developmental work and directed the President and General Secretaries to organise this in an effective manner. The Pradesh Congress Committees were expected to do likewise.

Referring the above resolution to the Pradesh Congress Committees Shri S. N. Agarwal wrote as follows on the 5th August, 1954 :

“I wish to invite your attention to the resolution about “Constructive and Developmental Work” adopted by the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer.

You will see that special emphasis has been laid on constructive work. The Congress Constitution also provides that an Active Member must do some constructive work out of the various items recommended by the Working Committee. I would like to draw your attention to clause IV (B) (vii) of the Congress Constitution which reads as follows :

“He devotes regularly a part of his time to some form of national, community, or social service otherwise than for personal profit, or to some constructive activity as laid down from time to time by the Working Committee, and sends periodical reports to the P.C.C., according to rules prescribed by the Working Committee.”

Through our circular dated 22nd October, 1953 we had requested you to inform the active members to submit regular reports to the P.C.Cs. about their work. From the reports available to us, we find that the active members have not yet begun sending regular reports about their work. I would request you to

write to the active members again to submit their reports regularly. You might also inform them that close scrutiny will be made of the constructive work of those active members who wish to contest the coming Congress Elections. You might issue instructions to the Pradesh Returning Officer and through him to the District Returning Officers that they might arrange to have close scrutiny of the reports of the candidates regarding their constructive activity.

The resolution of the A.I.C.C. directs the President and General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress to organise constructive and developmental work in an effective manner. The A.I.C.C. has further directed that P.C.Cs. should do likewise. To implement the above decisions, it is necessary that an experienced and whole-time Congress worker is appointed to take charge of the Constructive Activity Department of the A.I.C.C. and similarly, each P.C.C. should appoint a person to supervise constructive work in its Pradesh. We would be grateful if you could send your recommendations by the end of this month suggesting names for an All-India Organiser as well as an Organiser for your Pradesh. These names would be placed before the Congress President and, if necessary, before the Working Committee for consideration."

In reply to this circular various Pradesh Congress Committees sent their suggestions and recommendations. The Working Committee considered all these replies and there was general discussion regarding the nature of Constructive Work. They appointed the following Sub-Committee :—

- (1) Dr. K. N. Katju.
- (2) Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.
- (3) Shri Gulzarilal Nanda.
- (4) Shri Khandubhai Desai.
- (5) Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair.
- (6) Shri Manickyalal Verma.
- (7) Shri Deokinanda Narayan ;

and (8) Shri S. N. Agarwal (Convener), with power to co-opt. to report by the 15th December 1954, regarding the ways and means to implement the resolution on constructive and developmental work adopted by the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer.

The first meeting of the Constructive Work Committee appointed by the Working Committee on the 25th September 1954 was held in the A.I.C.C. Office at 3 p.m. on the 1st October 1954. Dr. K. N. Katju, Shri Manikyalal Verma, Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair, Shri Deokinandan Narayan and Shri S. N. Agarwal attended. Shri Balvantray Mehta also attended by special invitation.

At the outset the members took up the question of finding out the exact significance of the term 'Constructive Work.'

Dr. Katju suggested that co-operative movement should form the essential factor in any constructive efforts undertaken by workers for augmenting the national resources. All encouragements should be given to the people to take to the co-operative way of living and the main emphasis should be laid on the development of co-operative movement in determining the priority in constructive work. A suitable psychology has to be created for it. By way of illustration, Dr. Katju suggested that the multi-purpose co-operative societies should be formed in the villages to undertake work in which most of the members should feel interested, such as :—

- (a) Better farming — Seeds, stores, improved system of cultivation etc.
- (b) Dairy farming — Animal husbandry.
- (c) Khadi — Spinning and weaving etc.
- (d) Consumers' Stores — dealing with salt, oil, sugar, etc.
- (e) Marketing.

Shri S. N. Agarwal pointed out that constructive work was not the business of a limited few. It was essentially a matter of right approach and outlook. A majority of the people should be

persuaded to join the venture with sincere earnestness so as to put to effective use the man-power and the available resources. The Congress as a whole should become an effective instrument of a constructive revolution in the country. The formation of multi-purpose co-operative movement would, indeed, be very helpful in raising the standard of living of the villagers and in giving adequate facilities to them for participating in constructive efforts. The success of this enterprise depended on education and experience and some training needs be imparted to workers interested in the same. Very few Congressmen knew about the co-operative movement and they should have to qualify themselves for the task by proper study. Literature has to be printed in easy languages.

Shri Verma suggested that experienced persons should be specially chosen for this technical task and given responsible charge of particular zones, so that they may build up the organisation on a planned basis and give a driving force to the work itself.

Shri S. N. Agarwal and Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair pointed out that the Committees for undertaking Community Projects and National Extension Services have been constituted in a manner which does not encourage Congressmen and other social workers to associate themselves with the same; rather these Committees are mostly official-ridden. The Government select people on salary basis after regular advertisement and notification and generally the Congressmen are left out.

Shri Agarwal suggested that the moot question was to find out ways and means as to how Congressmen should take more active part in Government sponsored activities—Community Projects, National Extension Services and other social welfare programmes. The terms of recruitment should be made easier in the case of workers who participated in the national struggle. The second question that has to be taken into account is to find out the method of establishing proper relationship of Congress workers with the Constructive work agencies that have been operating in different parts of the country. All the Congress Committees

should be nuclei of constructive work and it should be seen that the activities of these committees are not strictly limited to only election campaigns, divorced from constructive efforts and social welfare activities.

Shri Balvantray mehta raised the question whether the Congressmen should work through Government sponsored institutions or through independent organisations, such as, Sarvodaya Samaj, Bharat Sevak Samaj or whether the Congress Committees should have full-fledged constructive departments to carry out constructive works amongst the people in their own way. Shri Mehta suggested that the Congress Committees would do well in giving full cooperation to the activities undertaken by the Government and also other social welfare agencies. The Congress workers should also help the Sarvodaya Samaj work and other activities undertaken by the Bharat Sevak Samaj. This would create a proper atmosphere for accelerating constructive work and, at the same time, keep Congressmen in direct touch with the same and give them proper scope for expressing themselves fully, instead of frittering away their energies in group politics.

Shri Deokinandan Narayan made a reference to the development boards that have started working in the villages of Bombay State with Congressmen actively working in the same.

Dr. Katju suggested that Congressman should have a feeling of self-confidence in themselves and should try to organise constructive work in their respective areas on the assumption that they would get nothing from the Government and that they should try to mobilise the local resources as best as possible to carry out the work undertaken by them. Once the right spirit was created, it could be reasonably expected that the work would not suffer for lack of resources.

It was decided that suggestions should be invited from the members of the working Committee and P. C. Cs., on the lines indicated in the discussion and that the Committee should meet on 7th November 1954 to examine those suggestions and make its own recommendations to the Working Committee.

A meeting of the Constructive Work Sub-Committee of the Working Committee was held on Sunday, the 7th November, 1954 at 4 p.m. in the office of the All India Congress Committee.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Shri Bal Bahadur Shastri, Shri Deoki Nandan Narayan, Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair and Shri S. N. Agarwal were present.

Shri S. N. Agarwal read out the letters received from Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and Dr. B. C. Roy giving their comments on the proceedings of the first meeting of this Committee which had been forwarded to them.

Shri Agarwal pointed out that the Ajmer resolution on Constructive and Developmental work urged on the people to attach great importance to this work and expected that Congressmen would directly associate themselves with the great task of building up a New India. In particular, Congressmen were asked to take active interest in the Community Projects, and National Extension Service Schemes. It was suggested that they should also offer themselves for the training laid down for village workers and other types of workers for the Community Projects and National Extension Service Schemes. Now the question is as to how the workers should act up to these suggestions. Advisory Committees had been formed with Government officials at the head, and recruitment is made by them of persons who fulfil certain minimum educational qualifications. Congressmen feel rather handicapped by these conditions, and Communists and R. S. S. people are getting into these Projects taking advantage of their University education and other high academic qualifications which Congressmen lack. The next question is how should the workers devote themselves to these constructive and developmental activities having, practically, no means of subsistence.

Shri Deoki Nandan Narayan suggested that there were five classes of workers who took some interest in these activities:

not help to promote better relations between the Congress and the constructive workers. This was also the feeling of the constructive workers whom he had contacted. By way of instance—Shri Vinoba pointed out that the floods of Bihar did not pain him so much as the piteous economic condition of the rural population of Bihar, who had no subsidiary sources of livelihood other than agriculture to fall back upon. After Independence, the condition of village industries had gradually deteriorated. Before Independence, the question of winning the Freedom of the country stimulated the people to undergo sacrifice. What was the stimulating factor today? We have to find new ‘urges’ for enthusing the workers.

With regard to Active Members, Shri Vinobaji pointed out that despite the conditions imposed by the Working Committee and definitely laid down in the Congress Constitution, the active members do not really fulfil the required criteria for admission to the Congress fold and no strict conditions are complied with. It was essential that a minimum sacrifice should be imposed on the workers, who should give a practical demonstration of their earnestness by fulfilling these conditions. Standard of living of the people has to be raised and all unnecessary show of grandeur and pomp should be avoided.

Dr. K. N. Katju in the end again laid stress on the fact that the constructive work at the start should be on voluntary basis and as the work progressed, some provision might be made to make payment to some workers. Paid worker should come at the later stage. Villagers should be persuaded to work for the collective betterment of the village by devoting a portion of their time. He (Dr. Katju) cited an instance, namely, animal husbandry. The yield of milk was found to be very low in rural areas, which could with profit be increased by a planned process. This form of work should be taken up by public-spirited villagers, who had a genuine feeling for improving the lot of the village people and thereby ennoble the country.

SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN

The success of planning depends upon the peoples understanding of it and their co-operation with it. It is clear that where the people are properly approached, they have appreciated the work done and they have given their co-operation in full measure. It is necessary to keep in constant touch with the people and to invite them to share in the execution of the Plan and the building up of new India. The Congress at Kalyani expressed the hope that the Second Five Year Plan should be built with the co-operation of the Panchayats, Village communities, local bodies and the like, so that it should be a people's plan and local leaders should assume responsibility, both in the formulation of the Plan and later in executing it.

The Congress further expressed that in view of the international developments and the new situation that India might have to face, it is of paramount importance that the country's energy and resources should be directed to the building up and strengthening of the nation. The basic strength can only come by national unity and self reliance and by concentrating on the major issues which confront the nation. These issues are—the social, economic and industrial development of the country. For this purpose, the nation must rely on its own resources and must be prepared for austerity in the present so that security and a fuller life might be available to the people in the future. The Congress is convinced that the people of India will face this new situation with unity, courage and perseverance and will be prepared to give their resources to be utilised for this purpose.

In his letter to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees on 26th May 1954, the Congress President wrote as follows :—

“ Our basic questions are after all economic and the land question is the most important of all. We have gone a good way in the direction of putting an end to zamindaris, jagirdaris and the like. Yet, even this step has not been completed in some

States. But that step itself if is not the final step and others have to follow. Ultimately, as the Congress has often said, there should be no intermediaries of any kind between the State and the cultivator. Also, we move progressively towards limiting the extent of a holding. Any hard and fast rule is difficult to make because of the difference in conditions in various parts of the country. Also we have always to bear in mind that production must not suffer.

“ The Second Five Year Plan will gradually take shape in the coming year or so. We want it to be a plan of the people’s making in which, to some extent, millions share. In that work, Congressmen can give a great deal of assistance. Also in the work of the Community Projects and National Extension Services, which have begun so promisingly in a great part of India, we must all co-operate to the fullest extent.”

Shri S. N. Agarwal sent the following circular letter regarding the Second Five Year Plan to the Pradesh Congress Committees on 2nd July 1954 :—

“ You are, doubtless, aware of the fact that the Planning Commission is now applying its mind to the preparation of the Second Five Year Plan. The Commission has already addressed letters to different States in the country for making specific suggestions; it has also enunciated some of the basic principles which will underlie the preparation of the next Five Year Plan. You will remember that the Congress passed a comprehensive resolution on the subject at Kalyani and emphasised the fact that it was necessary “ to keep in constant touch with the people and to invite them to share in the execution of the Plan and the building up of New India,” Special stress was also laid on the fact that the Second Five Year Plan should be built up with the co-operation of the Panchayats, Village Communities, Local Bodies and the like, so that it should be a people’s Plan and local leaders should assume responsibility both in the formulation of the Plan and later in executing it.

“ I would, therefore, suggest to you that your P.C.C. should take steps to get in touch with the District and other subordinate

Congress Committees in order to prepare a blue-print for the Second Five Year Plan in your area. The D.C.Cs. should send their specific suggestions to the P.C.C. and the P.C.C. should submit an outline of the next Plan to the State Government, with a copy to the A.I.C.C. You will agree with me that the Congress Organisation has a special responsibility in this respect and we must try our very best to see to it that next Five Year Plan reflects the vital and felt needs of the people of the country as a whole.

"I would suggest that in preparing a blue-print for the next Five Year Plan, the Congress Committees should keep in view the following points :

"(a) For the First Five Year Plan, we gave high priority to the improvement of agriculture and the establishment of basic or key industries. In the Second Five Year Plan, high priority should be given to Small-scale, Village and Cottage Industries with a view to solving effectively the problems of unemployment and under-employment in both the urban and rural areas.

"(b) Special attention should be paid to adequate provision for the supply of drinking water to the rural people, specially in the backward areas.

"(c) High priority should be given to the construction of village roads for linking up as many villages as possible. Instead of spending amounts in tarring and broadening city roads, it will be desirable to spend the maximum amount on better communications in the countryside.

"(d) Emphasis should be laid on starting basic schools and technical or multi-purpose high schools for training youngmen in specific vocations. The multiplication of the ordinary type of middle and high schools in the country will aggravate our basic problems instead of solving them.

"(e) Attempts should be made to provide postal and telegraphic facilities to villages with a population of two thousand and above, and telephonic facilities to villages with a population of five thousand and above.

“(f) Schemes should be prepared for opening village hospitals, providing cheap but efficient medical facilities, particularly through indigenous systems.

“(g) Special attention should be paid to the possibility of starting minor irrigation works in the rural areas for improving irrigational facilities. An adequate survey from this point of view will be necessary in co-operation with the local engineers.

“(h) Proposals should be put forward for achieving decentralisation of economic and political power through the revitalisation of the Village Panchayats as units of not only self-Government but also national economic planning.

“These are only a few suggestions for your consideration. I am confident that you will discuss these matters fully in your next meeting of the P.C.C. and advise the D.C.Cs. in your Pradesh accordingly. Please keep us in touch with the progress of this work periodically.”

The above circular has been widely received by the Congress Committees and most of the P.C.Cs. have formed Planning Sections in their offices, which have taken up the work of studying people's need *vis-a-vis* the Second Five Year Plan. Some suggestions have already begun to come to the A.I.C.C. Office. These are being passed on to the Planning Commission. It may be mentioned here that the Working Committee appointed the following Sub-Committee in 1953 for being constantly in touch with the progress of the Five Year Plan.

1. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda,
2. Shri Harekrushna Mehtab,
3. Shri Khandubhai Desai,
4. Shri Syed Mahmud,
- and 5. Shri S. N. Agarwal—*Convener*.

The Parliamentary Party has also appointed a Committee to study this question and submit its recommendations. It is hoped that the two Sub-Committees will be able to put people's view before the Planning Commission *vis-a-vis* the Second Five Year Plan.

FLOODS

This year there were wide-spread floods in Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and East U.P.

In Assam, major parts of the districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Darang, Nowgong, Kamrup and Goulpara have been affected.

In Bihar, the worst affected districts are Purnea, Saharsa, North Monghyr, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Champaran.

In West Bengal, the worst affected districts were Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. A total area of over 300 square miles comprising several towns and villages was affected in West Bengal.

In Uttar Pradesh, the total flood area was estimated to be about 300 square miles, affecting five districts and two thousand and five hundred villages.

Our General Secretary, Shri S. N. Agarwal, toured the districts of Bihar on 31st August, 1954. He sent the following circular to the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees, Conveners of the Youth Departments of the P.C.Cs. and Conveners of Women's Departments of the P.C.Cs.

“ You must have been reading in the newspapers about the recent floods in East U.P., Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. I had the opportunity of touring Bihar recently for four days and of seeing the miserable plight of the flood victims. The Governments of different States are trying their best to help the people of the flood affected areas to the best of their ability within their limited financial resources. The Union Government has also agreed to help these States in meeting the urgent situation. But mere official help will not be able to meet the immediate needs of the people. It is, therefore, necessary to organise non-official assistance throughout the country.

The extent of the tragedy is, indeed, colossal and the sufferings of millions of our people in the flood regions is too deep for tears. I was touched specially by the miserable condition of women and children in these areas. They have hardly any clothes to cover their bodies. The Prime Minister has appealed to the

textile millowners to send cloth immediately for relief work. But I would like the Pradesh Congress Committees also to take up this work non-officially in right earnest and to collect money, cloth and even used but properly washed clothes, specially for women and children. This help should be sent directly to the Secretaries of U.P., Bihar, West Bengal and Assam Pradesh Congress Committees. It is gratifying to know that the Railway authorities have agreed to give special concession in traffic rates for despatching parcels for relief work.

During my tour in Bihar, I found that many students were finding it difficult to continue their studies, because they are not in a position to pay their tuition fees. Their parents have lost all their belongings and sources of livelihood. Here is a special field of work for the Congress Youth Departments. They should try to collect money from the students of schools and colleges for helping their fellow-brethren in the flood affected areas to continue their education. Such collections should be sent to the respective Pradesh Congress Committees earmarked for "Students relief".

I hope you will kindly take personal interest in this matter and try to organise relief for the flood victims as speedily as possible."

The Congress President also made the following appeal in his capacity as the Prime Minister.

"News from the flooded areas in various parts of the country continues to indicate that the devastation has been on an enormous scale and urgent relief is necessary.

"In spite of heavy damage caused to food crops, we have fortunately enough food available in the country. But relief of various kinds has to be given. Government will do their utmost, but, I hope that this will be supplemented by generous help from the public.

"Apart from contributions to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund, I would suggest owners of textile mills to send cloth these areas. The need for clothing is urgent, in Bihar, Assam, U.P. and West Bengal."

The P.C.Cs. of Assam, Bihar, Bengal and U.P. also organised work for the flood affected people.

In response to the appeal of the General Secretary and the President, a large sum of money was received in the A.I.C.C. Office and it was sent to the various P.C.Cs. for relief work. In addition to the cash, the A.I.C.C. also received several bales of cloth and utensils for being distributed to the flood affected people.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND

After the demise of Sardar Patel, the Congress Working Committee resolved that a national memorial fund be raised in memory of Sardar Vallabhai Patel and the said fund to be mainly utilised for construction of rural roads, wells and other means of water supply, village school houses and other rural welfare purposes.

Prominent industrialists and businessmen took the main lead and collected, through the Committees set up by them in different States, a fund amounting to Rs. 53,16,732-10-11. A Central Committee was formed to take charge of the fund and to spend the money in the States through State Committees or agents working under its guidance and directions. The Committee consisted of the following members :

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (*Chairman*)

Shri Purushottamdas Tandon,

Shri G. V. Mavalankar,

Shri Morarji Desai,

Shri B. C. Roy,

Shri G. D. Birla,

Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai

and Shri K. N. Katju (*Convener*)

It was later on decided by the Working Committee that one of the General Secretaries of the A.I.C.C. should be associated with the Central Committee and act as its Secretary. In terms of the above decision, Shri Balvantray Mehta has been functioning as the Secretary of the Central Committee.

Local Committees or agents have been appointed in all the States in India except Pepsu. It was decided that the 85% of the sum raised from different States should be spent in those States

and 15% should be retained by the Central Committee for helping poor and needy States, whose own collections would be comparatively small in amount. It was considered desirable that the money should be spent as rapidly as possible and that, subject to the broad principles laid down by the Working Committee and the Central Committee of the Sardar Patel National Memorial Fund, disbursements should be left to the local Committees. Of course, the money should not be spent in large structures. The Committee and the agents in charge of the respective Pradeshes were advised to draw up the plans and submit the same to the Central Committee for their approval. The latter would make advances of money from the allotted fund earmarked for the Congress Pradesh in appropriate instalments as the construction work progressed in these areas. The Committee would also look into the statement of accounts and make careful appraisal of the volume of work done in terms of the plan before any fresh advance was made. While undertaking a project in a particular area, the local Committee or the agent would give preference to the areas or places where the local population would be prepared to make contributions either in money or in the form of manual labour. It was suggested that the Central Committee should take care to allot funds under its control to areas where need was greatest.

Uptil now, advances have been made from the Sardar Patel National Memorial Fund to the Pradeshes mentioned below in the following proportion.

(See next page)

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Memorial Fund.

Serial No.	States	Amount remitted to the States		
			Rs.	A. P.
1	Bombay	..	10,69,225	15 3
2	West Bengal	...	5,50,000	0 0
3	Gujerat	...	4,88,738	15 3
4	Bihar	...	75,000	0 0
5	Uttar Pradesh	...	75,000	0 0
6	Maharashtra	...	59,000	0 0
7	Madhya Bharat	...	89,584	0 0
8	Assam	...	30,000	0 0
9	Hyderabad	...	20,000	0 0
10	Delhi	...	29,000	0 0
11	Nagpur	...	7,500	0 0
12	Andhra	...	10,000	0 0
13	Punjab	...	10,000	0 0
14	Utkal	...	10,000	0 0
15	Travancore-Cochin	...	10,000	0 0
16	Rajasthan	...	10,400	0 0
17	Mahakoshal	...	7,500	0 0
18	Karnatak	...	5,000	0 0
19	Vidarbha	...	3,500	0 0
20	Vindhya Pradesh	..	3,700	0 0
21	Malayala	...	2,500	0 0
22	Ajmer	...	2,500	0 0
23	Himachal Pradesh	...	2,500	0 0
24	Bhopal	...	10,000	0 0
Total		...	<u>25,71,648</u>	<u>14 6</u>

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel National Memorial Fund

(1) Committees Formed in Following Pradeshes

West Bengal	...	Dr. B. C. Roy—C. Minister, <i>Chairman.</i>
Madhya Bharat	...	Shri Mishrilal Gangwal—C. Minister, <i>Chairman.</i>
Bihar	...	Dr. A. N. Sinha—Finance Minister, <i>Chairman.</i>
Bombay	...	Shri G. D. Ambeekar— <i>Member,</i> <i>Secretary.</i>
Gujarat, Saurashtra, Kutch	...	Shri Jivanji D. Desai— <i>Member,</i> <i>Secretary.</i>
Maharashtra	...	Shri D. K. Kunte—Speaker L. Assembly, <i>Member Secretary.</i>
Karnatak	...	Shri V. K. Deshpande— <i>Member</i> <i>Secretary.</i>
Mysore	...	Shri H. C. Dassappa, <i>M. P.</i>
Assam	...	Shri B. R. Medhi—C. Minister, <i>Chairman.</i>
Vidarbha	...	Shri Brijlal Biyani—Minister, <i>Chairman.</i>
U. P.	...	Shri Purushottamdas Tandon, <i>M.P.</i>
Hyderabad	...	Shri Mallappa Kolar—President, <i>P.C.C. Convener.</i>

(2) Agents appointed in Following Pradeshes

Ajmer	...	Shri Jagannath Sharma, <i>M.L.A.</i>
Andhra	...	Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy— <i>Deputy</i> <i>Leader.</i>
T r a v a n c o o r e—		
Cochin	...	Shri K. Sankhu Pillai—Ex. Presi- dent, <i>P.C.C.</i>
Punjab	...	Ch. Lehri Singh—Minister.
Bhopal	...	Shri Bhagwan Singh, <i>M.L.A.</i>
Jalpalpur	...	Shri Babulal Tiwari, <i>M.P.</i>
Nagpur	...	Shri Chaturbhujbhai Jasani— <i>Ex. M.P.</i>
Himachal	...	Shri Ramdayal, <i>M.L.A.</i>
Malaya	...	Shri P. L. Asher
Vindhya	...	Shri Kewalram Thawani
Tamilnad	...	Shri G. Rajagopalan, <i>M.P.</i>
Rajasthan	...	Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt— <i>Ex.</i> <i>President, P.C.C.</i>
Utkal	...	Shri Harekrushna Mehtab, <i>M.P.</i>
Delhi	...	Shri Brijkishen Chadiwala.
Pepsu	...	No Committee or Agency appointed.

ORGANISATIONAL AFFAIRS

In Bihar, the elected President, Shri Prajapati Misra died in May 1953. The Pradesh remained without a president for a number of months and it was only on the 11th January, 1954 that the Chief Minister of Bihar, Dr. S. K. Sinha was elected President of the Bihar P.C.C. His election was not consistent with the policy of the Working Committee and the High Command agreed to his election due to the special conditions prevailing in Bihar at that time and at the specific request of the people concerned.

In Hyderabad, the Revenue Minister, Shri K. V. Ranga Reddy was elected President of the P.C.C. on 17th January, 1954 in the place vacated by the out-going President, Swami Ramananda Tirtha.

The Working Committee considered these two elections at their meeting on 20th January, 1954 and decided to approve these two elections as temporary and exceptional. The Committee further decided that there was no reason to revise the earlier resolution of the Working Committee debarring Ministers from holding certain posts in the Congress Organisation. It was decided that in these particular cases, re-election should take place within six months in conformity with the Congress policy.

In terms of the Working Committee resolution, the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee met on 10th July, 1954 and elected Shri Mallappa Kolur as the President of the P.C.C. In Bihar, special request was made to the Congress President for allowing Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha to continue. This request was acceded to and Dr. Sinha continues to be the President of the P.C.C. It is hoped that a new President will be elected in Bihar also after the present delegate elections are over and the P.C.C. meets.

During this year Shri Balvantray Mehta toured the Pradeshes of Andhra and Travancore-Cochin. He submitted his report on Andhra which has already appeared in the August Congress Bulletin.

Shri S. N. Agarwal, during the year, visited Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Punjab, Bhopal, Rajasthan and Travancore-Cochin. Also Bombay, Tamil Nad, Madhya Pradesh Mysore.

Shri Mahesh Saran went in his individual capacity to Sikkim.

Shri Radhelal Vyas and Shri Muni Subrat Jain visited Bilaspur. Mr. Jain also went to some districts of Mahakoshal.

Shri Abul Faqir Siddiqui visited Rajasthan, Bhopal and Bilaspur.

All the above gentlemen met Congress workers during their visits and tried to propagate Congress principles. The General Secretaries specially visited the Pradeshes with a view to study the organisational position there and suggest ways and means to strengthen the Organisation.

During the year, there was trouble in Manbhum district which is popularly known as Tusu Agitation. This trouble arose over an order of the Government of Bihar introducing Hindi as the only medium of instruction in all the schools. There are very old schools in Purulia and other places in the district of Manbhum having more than 90% Bengali speaking students, particularly from those areas, where the majority of students are Bengali speaking. This order created great inconvenience and trouble among the local people. The policy of the Government of India has been to impart training to the lower standards in their mother-tongue. The West Bengal P.C.C. considered this in their Executive Committee on 27th March and adopted the following resolution :

“ This Meeting of the Executive Council of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee welcomes and endorses the statement issued by the President, W.B.P.C.C. on the question of Tusu Song movement, sponsored by the nationalist elements of Manbhum, and other outlying areas in Bihar, in vindication of the Fundamental Rights by way of fostering and developing a bias in favour of the mother tongue in consonance with the provisions of the Indian Constitution *vis-a-vis* the indiscreet action on the part of Bihar Government, in attempting to throttle and suppress the legitimate aspirations of the Bengali speaking people in Bihar,

“ This meeting further views with grave concern the fast deteriorating situation in Manbhum, Singhbhum and other Bengali speaking tracts in Bihar due to the mishandling of the situation by the local administration culminating in relentless repression, indiscriminate arrest, torture and conviction of the peaceful and law-abiding citizens with a view to suppressing this innocuous language movement as embodied in the Tusu Song agitation, which has greatly undermined the prestige and the ideals of the Congress and the Bihar Government.

“ Having regard to the fast deteriorating situation in the Bengali speaking areas in Manbhum and the adjoining areas with its possible repercussion in other States, this meeting respectfully urges upon the Congress President, our revered leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India and also the Congress Working Committee to take an early step in the matter with a view to putting an effective check on the persistent activities of the Bihar Government in order to mitigate the sufferings of the people of the Bengali speaking areas in Bihar, so that the people may adhere to their own language and foster and develop their culture and tradition in accordance with the Charter of Freedom as adumbrated in the Indian Constitution, so that a favourable atmosphere may be created for the peaceful solution of the problems relating to the boundary disputes.

The Committee further requests the Congress Working Committee to set up a Committee of enquiry to look into the affairs of Manbhum. ”

The Working Committee considered this at their meeting on 5th April and advised the Congress leaders of the respective States to decide the issue by mutual talks.

There was agitation in Saraikala and Kharswan also. It may be mentioned here that Saraikala and Kharswan were originally under the Orissa Government, but later they were transferred to Bihar Government after an enquiry had been made and the wishes of the people ascertained. The present agitation was for their remerger with Orissa. The Working Committee considered this

question also and again advised the State leaders to decide the issue by mutual talks.

During the year, there have been so-called Satyagraha movements in several States, i. e. U. P., Andhra and Travancore-Cochin. The Satyagraha in U. P. was sponsored by the P. S. P. against the increase in irrigation rates in some of the districts of U. P. Several persons, including Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia were arrested by the U. P. Government. Dr. Lohia appealed against his arrest and detention and the High Court ordered his release and held that inciting people for non-payment of dues could not be taken as illegal. The U. P. Government, thereupon, ordered the release of all the people arrested in connection with this agitation.

In Andhra, the Krishikar Lok Party started propaganda that the former tappers of toddy trees had been deprived of their means of livelihood and no alternative had been shown to them. They started this campaign five years after the introduction of Prohibition in the State. The Andhra Government introduced several methods of using Palm products to provide employment to tappers, apart from the distribution of waste land which could usefully employ them. The K.L.P. ignoring these realities started Satyagraha from the 15th May, by instigating ex-tappers to violate the Prohibition Law and by picketing courts after giving prior notice. The campaign, on the whole, created little sensation. As many as 595 persons courted imprisonment. The agitation has since died down.

The agitation in Travancore-Cochin was started by the Travancore Tamilnad Congress Committee for the merger of Travancore-Tamil areas with Tamilnad. This Satyagraha could gather some momentum and the State Government had to resort to firing in the course of this campaign. There was a persistent demand for the appointment of an enquiry commission to find out facts about the alleged repression by the State Government. Such an Enquiry Commission has been appointed.

In Indore there was some trouble over the student's agitation. The agitation assumed an ugly shape in as much as the

High Court records were burnt and other Government property damaged. The police had to open fire. But this was done not at the time when the High Court Building was being set fire to but later. Shri S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary, was deputed by the Congress President to go over to Indore, study the situation and report to the Working Committee. Shri Agarwal reported to the Working Committee at Ajmer. Here again, there was persistent demand for open judicial enquiry. The Madhya Bharat Government appointed Justice Wanchhoo, Chief Justice of Rajasthan, to make necessary enquiry and give its report. The report is awaited.

In the P.C.C. Presidents and Secretaries Conference, held at Kalyani, there was discussion regarding organisational problems. It was suggested that more intimate contacts should be established between the A.I.C.C. and the P.C.Cs. through constant tours by the General Secretaries and other prominent Congress leaders. The local difficulties grew up due to differences of opinion on issues which demand careful scrutiny and examination and it is through the experience and guidance of prominent leaders that the differences may be solved. Attempts have been made to set up some form of a liaison machinery in the States to avoid clash between organisational and parliamentary wings of the Congress by regular consultation and exchange of ideals and opinions. In cases of acute differences, the A.I.C.C. brought the State Congress leaders together to find out an agreed settlement. The advice of the A.I.C.C. has been found very helpful and the people concerned readily accepted its guidance in most cases.

The General Secretaries made it a point to visit different States at intervals and met local Congress Workers and State Legislators. But it is not possible to cover the entire area and all such attempts could not possibly be fulfilled. It was, therefore, suggested that the Congress President himself addresses fortnightly letters to the P.C.C. Presidents and gives indications of his view points regarding the prominent issues looming large before the country and the States in particular. In accordance with this decision, the Congress President has addressed several letters to the P.C.C. Presidents during the period May to December, 1954.

In his first letter dated 26th May, 1954, the Congress President wrote :

“I look back on the record of the Congress, with its ups and downs, and its success and failures. It is a proud record in spite of our failings. But such a record brings with it tremendous responsibility. Even today, the responsibility of the Congress all over India is very great. The Governments that the Congress runs are important. But behind the Governments is public opinion, the opinion of millions of people. It is the function of the Congress to guide, mould and to be guided by this public opinion, to discipline it and help it to work in right channels. That is the real strength of the country and of the Government. If any people in Government imagine that they are above this public opinion or above the Congress, then they are greatly mistaken and the very foundations that they stand on might be swept away.

“I have been convinced of the high importance of the Congress functioning today, carrying on its work of unifying and integrating India, laying stress on peaceful and co-operative methods, and carrying our people along the line of progress. We are not a sectarian body consisting of the elect. We are fellow-travellers with the people of India. That means sometimes that our pace may be a little slower than we would like it to be. It is easy for a group to lay down fine policies, but such policies should bear relation to the multitude of facts that surround and confront us. At the same time the need for rapid progress is evident. The greatest danger to India and to the Congress is a feeling of complacency that all is well. All is not well in the world or in India today.”

“Therefore, the first thing to be borne in mind by Congressmen is the gravity and urgency of this movement and the demands that it makes upon our organisation as well as upon all of us individuals. Shouldering this heavy responsibility, we have to keep faith with that tradition, keep true to our ideals and principles, and work for the strengthening and advancement of the people of India. We must not lose ourselves, as unfortunately we often do, in smaller problems or in petty disputes. While we

adhere to our basic principles, we should always seek the co-operation of others to work out those principles and not function in a sectarian manner. It is true that it is difficult for us to co-operate with those who basically differ from us, but there are large numbers of others, who may not be in the Congress but who are broadly in sympathy with those principles, and with them we should always endeavour to co-operate.

“For any organization to be effective, it must have discipline and effective work to its credit. That discipline need not be the narrow discipline of a sect, but it has to be an effective discipline ; otherwise, the organisation becomes just a loose collection of human beings with no clear purpose or will to work. I have noticed with deep regret conflicts among congressmen in some states. Where such conflicts occur, regardless of the merits of the question, there is narrow-mindedness and lack of vision, and, sometimes, there are group loyalties or caste considerations. Both have no place in a great movement. both are disruptive. Ours is a work of construction, not disruption.

“We have always to remember that our great country exhibits a wonderful variety not only in physical features and geography and climate, but also in human beings, their languages, customs, backgrounds and urges. We have to keep this broad picture in view and not seek to impose something on one part of the country which may not suit it and which may create a feeling of suppression. Freedom functions in a different way. While discipline is essential and a certain uniformity necessarily follows, the rich variety of India has always to be understood and maintained. Only in this way does disciplined freedom flourish. We are a vast community of free individuals joining together in great national tasks, restricting that individual freedom only when it comes up against the larger freedom that we cherish.

“There are many religions in this country, several of hoary antiquity, each has an honoured place in this country and each must have a sensation of freedom. This is why the Congress has always been opposed to, what we have called, communalism, which is the narrow and bigoted villager's outlook mixing with politics

to the detriment of both religion and politics. In particular, the great majority of the people of India, who are Hindus, must always remember that the interest and the well-being of the minorities are their sacred trust. If they fail in their trust, then they injure not only the country but themselves. They go against the past tradition of India and, more especially, that great tradition which Gandhiji has bequeathed to us. Therefore, we have to take particular care that in the various activities of the nation, whether it is in the working of Government and its Services or in our elections or in the organization of the Congress, the minorities have an adequate and respected place.

“In particular, we must fight wholeheartedly against those narrow divisions which have grown up in our country in the name of caste, and which weaken the unity, solidarity and progress of the country. Gandhiji gave first place to the uplift of the Harijans. That is essential, but that is only symbol for the equality of all our people and for the elimination of the pride and privilege of caste.”

Congress Elections :

The biennial delegate elections were due this year. The Working Committee approved of the following time-table at their meeting dated July 23, 1954 :

1. Date by which subordinate Congress Committees should publish lists of 1953 members ... 20th August, 1954.
2. Date by which objections may be filed before Scrutiny Committees ... 21st August, 1954.
3. Date by which District Scrutiny Committees should decide the objections ... 20th September, 1954.
4. Date by which appeals may be filed before Pradesh Scrutiny Committees ... 30th September, 1954.

5. Date by which Pradesh Scrutiny Committees should decide the appeals ... 15th October, 1954.
6. Date for final publication of rolls ... 20th October, 1954.
7. Time for filing nominations for delegates elections ... 21st to 30th Oct. 1954.
8. Scrutiny of nomination papers ... 31st October, 1954.
9. Last date for final publication of valid nominations ... 4th November, 1954.
10. Last date for withdrawal... 14th November, 1954.
11. Date of polling ... 15th to 20th Nov., 1954.
12. Date by which results should be sent to D.C.Cs. and P.C.Cs. ... 22nd November, 1954.
13. Date by which lists of delegates should reach the A.I.C.C. Office. ... 30th November, 1954.
14. Date by which nominations for Presidential election should reach the A.I.C.C. ... 10th December, 1954.
15. Publication of names received ... 11th December, 1954.
16. Last date of withdrawal ... 18th December, 1954.
17. Publication of final list of names after withdrawal ... 19th December, 1954.
18. Date for Presidential and A.I.C.C. members elections ... 29th December, 1954.

19. Date by which ballot
Boxes should reach
A.I.C.C. ... 31st December, 1954.

20. Counting of votes and
declaration of result ... 1st January, 1955.

Article 7 of the Congress Constitution defines the qualifications of voters and candidates as follows :

(a) Voters :

Every Primary Member, whose name has been on the Register of Members on the 30th June of the preceding year and who has paid his membership subscription for the current year by the 30th June, shall be entitled to vote. List of voters, entitled to vote, shall be prepared and published with their full addresses in accordance with rules framed in this behalf by the working Committee.

(b) Candidate:

Only an Active Member, whose name has been on the Register of Active Members on the 30th June of the preceding year and who has paid his membership subscription for the current year by the 30th June, shall be eligible for election as a delegate or as a member of any Congress Committee above a Mandal Congress Committee. In the case of Mandal (or Taluqa) Congress Committees, however, office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee shall be Active Members."

The enrolment of Congress members for the year 1953 continued to the end of February, 1953 and, for some special reasons, further extension upto 30th April, 1954 was allowed in some Pradeshes. While extending the date for enrolment, the Working Committee also decided that renewal for 1954 membership should be allowed, to take place till 31st August, 1954.

Some P.C.Cs. represented to the A.I.C.C. that they were finding it difficult to renew membership for 1954 within the short period of four months. Moreover, constitutionally, membership for 1954 can be renewed upto the 31st December, 1954. But according to Article 7, both the voters and the candidates have to renew their

membership by 30th June, 1954, if they have to take part in elections during the second half of the year. This question was considered at an informal meeting of the members of the Working Committee present in Delhi on 18th July. They decided to make the following recommendation to the Working Committee :

“ The Committee decided that 1953 membership which was allowed to continue under special circumstances in 1954, also should be treated as the members for Congress Elections in 1954. The fees for 1954 may be collected up to the end of 1954. Members failing to pay by the end of December, 1954 shall not be allowed to participate in the elections to be held in 1955.”

The Working Committee considered this question at their meeting on 23rd July, 1954. They decided to accept the recommendation of the informal meeting. This question was put before the A.I.C.C. at Ajmer and they ratified the above decision of the working Committee in the following terms :

“ The Congress membership for 1953 continued in some provinces up to 30th April, 1954. The Congress delegate elections are due towards the end of this year to enable the 60th Session of the Congress to be held in January, 1955. The Working Committee have, therefore, decided that the Congress delegate elections be held on the basis of 1953 membership lists. The A.I.C.C. ratifies the decision of the Working Committee.”

According to the schedule given above, the programme of election was widely circulated in the newspapers. The P.C.C.s. of Ajmer, Delhi, Pepsu and Punjab could not adhere to the above programme due to the following reasons :

In Ajmer, the election of Beawar and Nasirabad Municipalities was scheduled to be held on the dates of the delegate elections. As such, postponement was allowed to them. In Delhi, the Municipal elections were fixed for 31st October. The Congress workers were engaged in these elections and as such, nominations could not be taken on the due date. They were, therefore, allowed postponement of delegate elections. The P.C.C.s. of Punjab and Pepsu represented that most of their Sikh Congress Workers were busy in the month of November and as such they requested that

the polling for delegate elections be fixed in December. Their request was also acceded to.

The Pradeshes of Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh failed to elect their Pradesh Returning Officers. At the unanimous suggestion of the Madhya Bharat Pradesh Congress Committee, Shri Ram Rup Tiwari was appointed the Pradesh Returning Officer for Madhya Bharat. For Vindhya Pradesh, Shri T. N. Singh was appointed the Pradesh Returning Officer as also the A.I.C.C. representative.

The A.I.C.C. appointed the following observers in the Pradeshes mentioned against their names :

Ajmer	... Shri Krishna Gopal
Bihar	... Shri Mangi Lal Vyas
Delhi	... Shri Abid Ali.
Madhya Bharat	... Shri Mahesh Saran.
Nagpur	... Shri R. C. Pande.
Pepsu	... Shri Prakash Chand Sethi.
Punjab	... Shri Mannulal Dwivedi.
Rajasthan	... Shri Jagat Singh Pal,
Vidarbha	... Shri Bhag Ram Sharma.

Shri Nandlal Joshi, Shri Liladhar Joshi, Shri Narendra P. Nathwani, Shri K. S. Hegde, Shri Raghunath Singh, Shri Ranbir Singh, Shri A. M. Thomas and Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair also worked as over representatives and we are grateful to all these gentlemen for the valuable help rendered by them.

The elections are over. We heartily welcome the new President, Shri U. N. Dhebar who was declared elected unopposed on the 10th December 1954.

CENTRAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

1. Legislators' Conference at Kalyani :

Prominent members of Parliament and State Legislatures met at Kalyani to discuss matters of common interest. The Congress President also attended this meeting and participated in the discussion. He pointed out that, normally, the broad principles of administrative measures should be discussed at the party meetings. There should be closest contacts amongst the members of the Legislatures and the Ministers and frequent meetings should be held for proper discussion and understanding of the problems that had to be dealt with. With regard to the organisation of the Congress Legislature Parties, he suggested that the members of the legislatures should train themselves up by specialised study of issues of vital importance and thereby raise the standard of Parliamentary work. He urged all the legislators to establish close contact with their constituencies. "You must teach them and learn from them"—this was the advice which each legislator should follow. It was specifically pointed out that whole democratic process was inclined to get warped in case the contact was not duly maintained for widening the perspective of both the people and their elected representatives.

With regard to the Five Year Plan, the Congress President suggested that an integrated all-round view was the essential factor which should determine the planning outlook in each State. The latter had to evolve a right attitude and approach to the solution of its own problems in consideration of the special factors obtaining therein.

2. P.C.C. Presidents and Secretaries Conference at Ajmer :

The Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees met at Ajmer during the session of the All India Congress Committee in July 1954. A suggestion was made in the meeting that the ministers should, as a matter of convention, be allowed to hold office till they commanded the confidence of the

P.C.C. With regard to the same, the Congress President asserted that it was most unjustified to expect that the ministers should hold office so long as the P.C.C. allowed them to do so. In this way the parliamentary work could not function and the democracy would be reduced to mockery. The Prime Minister was the archstone which formed a basis of the democratic structure. Once he was chosen, he must have the full discretion left to him. If he did not command the confidence of the legislature, he might go. Democracy could not be successful by proceeding in an arbitrary way. Congressmen should see that they should not raise undue complication by emphasising the differences between the Congress organisation and the Congress Legislature Party. This would intensify the malady instead of finding a cure. Of course, there must be a proper method and mechanism to work in unison. The close contact between the ministers and the office-bearers of the P.C.C. should be there. Each should try to understand the view points of other. The general guidance may be received from the A. I. C. C.

With regard to the suggestion that for guaranteeing proper harmony between the two sections of the Congress, organisational and parliamentary, it would be proper to have the Chief Minister of the State as the President of the P.C.C., the Congress President pointed out that the work of the Chief Minister was indeed a very hard one and the merger of the two important positions would weaken both the offices. It would be bad to concentrate all powers in one man. The work and the responsibilities must be shared. In case the Chief Minister and the President of the P.C.C. differed acutely, they would have to accept the position as such and go on working in their different spheres. Of course, the guidance of the Working Committee and the Central Parliamentary Board would be there to work as the cementing forces.

3. Contact with Constituencies :

The General Secretary, in his letter, to the Congress Legislature Parties and the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees, drew special attention of the members of the legislatures that they should keep constant contact with their constituencies

and work through the Congress organisations. The Pradesh Congress Committees were requested to keep a proper record of activities of the legislators on the following lines :—

1. The Congress work undertaken by the legislator in his constituency.
2. Regular contact maintained by the legislator with the people of his constituency.
3. Public statement made through the press or platform if any, impairing the prestige of the Congress or running counter to its policy and programme
4. Open criticism of the Congress administration.
5. Steps taken to estimate public view point on important issues and to mobilise public opinion

4. Selection of Candidates :

In connection with the selection of candidates for different constituencies, the Parliamentary Board decided that in the constituencies where the Congress had been defeated, the Pradesh Congress Committees should send recommendations of a panel of names for consideration and due note should be taken about the question of giving representation to minorities, women, constructive workers etc. It was further pointed out that the claims of outstanding people, by whose admission both the Congress and the Legislature Party were likely to be strengthened, should also be taken into consideration.

5. Association of Youths in Nation-building works :

The Parliamentary Board laid special emphasis on the fact that attempts should be made to utilise the talents of the youths in the nation-building work through legislature, Congress organisation, social service agencies and local bodies. It was suggested that at the initial stage, they might be brought in contact with the local self-government institutions and co-operatives and any distinction, which they might put forward, should be given due consideration, later on, while selecting candidates for the legislatures.

6. No-Confidence against the Speaker :

With regard to the question of moving a vote of No-confidence against the Speaker of the Assembly or the Chairman of the Legislative Council, the Board decided that in view of the fact that the office of the Speaker and the Chairman was a very exalted one in the legislature, the question of his removal should not be left merely to the decision of the party members. Previous sanction of the Parliamentary Board was necessary before any move was made in the matter ; and if the Board felt satisfied after proper enquiry that the Speaker or the Chairman had failed to discharge his responsibilities duly, he might be advised to resign.

7. Admission of non-Congress Members to Legislature Parties :

The Parliamentary Board considered the question of admission of members, elected as independents or nominees of other parties, to the Congress Legislature Party and decided that such member may be so admitted, provided a three-fourths of the members present and voting are in favour of such admission.

8. Ministers' Visits :

The General Secretary advised the ministers to appreciate the importance of maintaining contact between them and the people and suggested that they should inform the Congress Committees, whenever they had occasion to visit any district or Tehsil, in course of their official tour, so that they might informally meet both Congressmen and others interested in Congress work. They were also asked to keep contact with M.Ps. and M.L.As concerned during their tour.

9. Representation to Minorities :

The Leaders of the Congress Legislature Parties and Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committee were advised to take steps to give adequate representation to minorities such as Muslims, Christians etc. in organisational, social and other public utility agencies. It was pointed out that the minorities of today were finding it rather difficult to overcome the form of psychosis which

conditioned their minds as a necessary sequel to the tragic occurrences in India. It was only by a bold and clear understanding of the political trends that the Congressmen could rise to the occasion and take upon themselves the noble task of building up a rejuvenated India, unfettered by any narrow dogma or prejudiced concept. Adequate representation should be given to them in the organisation as well as other offices and thereby a sense of security had to be created. At the same time, they must be made to feel that they were getting their share of responsibility not by way of any charity or gift, but as a matter of right and this consciousness would free their energy and genius to be properly utilised in the interests of the country.

In his letter to the P.C.C. Presidents, the Congress President pointed out that the Congress had been always opposed to communalism, which was the narrow and bigoted villagers' outlook mixed with politics to the detriment of both religion and politics. In particular, the great majority of the people of India, who are Hindus, must always remember that the interest and the well-being of the minorities were their sacred trust. If they failed in their trust, then they would injure not only their country but themselves. Therefore, particular care should be taken to see that in the various activities of the nation, whether it is in the organisation or government service, or in the elections the minorities should have an adequate and respected place.

10. Equal Treatment to people of all Creeds:

The Congress President in a letter to a prominent Congressman wrote—"In our country, we have Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhists, Jains, Jews and people of other creeds. They are all equal citizens of India and have to be treated as such. Some tribal people or people, belonging to minority communities, may have been misled by false propaganda and may not have behaved properly always. They have to be made to feel that they are also full Indians, with all the privileges that go with that. There will be no future for the different States if there are internal religious conflicts there. It is especially the business of the Congress to overcome these conflicts and make friends with all."

11. Accommodation of Ministers in Congress and A.I.C.C Sessions :

The ministers were specially requested to note the factor that a practice was unfortunately growing up whereby it was found that the Congressmen holding ministerial or similar position with their staff and guests, had become a distinct charge on the Reception Committee. It was pointed out that the ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries carried with them sometimes a large retinue and expected that the Reception Committee should make special arrangements for them. This differential treatment to the ministers involved the Reception Committee not only in extra expenditure and heavy strain but also it created a feeling of uneasiness among the Congressmen who would naturally resent. The ministers were therefore, advised to make their private arrangements with their friends in the locality; otherwise, they should be prepared to share the same facilities of accommodation with other members of the A.I.C.C.

12. Members of the Second Chamber to choose their Constituencies for Congress work :

The members of the Second Chambers, both in the Parliament and States, who were expected to establish direct contact with the Congress organisation, found themselves rather in anomalous position without having any constituency to represent directly. The lack of direct contact with any particular area tended to make the legislator concerned rather less keen about the specific issues that cropped up in different places. It was, therefore, suggested to them that each member should choose a constituency in consultation with the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party of the State and try to develop the area in co-operation with others. Once the constituency was chosen, the member concerned should consider himself equally responsible for its development and proper organisation as other M.Ps. and M.L.As.

13. Unopposed Election of the Speaker :

The question of adopting a form of convention, on the line of the British House of Commons, to allow the Speaker to be returned

without opposition, was raised before the Working Committee, on the suggestions of Shri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker of the House of the People. The Working Committee felt that the idea of establishing a convention, for unopposed election of Speakers, was not a feasible proposition at present, in view of the possible attitude of the other political parties. However, it was decided that normally speaking, the Speaker should be given the Congress ticket and if he was returned, he might be selected for election to Speakership as far as possible.

14. Use of Gandhiji's picture in Election Campaign :

The Pradesh Congress Committees were requested to advise all Congress Committees to discourage the use of Gandhiji's picture in the election campaign in the form of poster or other election pamphlets.

15. Selection of Candidates for Local Bodies :

With regard to the selection of candidates for local bodies, the Pradesh Congress Committees were advised to incorporate in the Pradesh Constitution some clauses on the following line :

“No Congressman shall seek election as an independent candidate to any Municipal Council, District Board or other local authorities, other than village panchayats, without the permission in writing of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Pradesh Congress Committee. It had been found that where two or more Congressmen contested each other from the same constituency in local bodies election, it tended to bring the Congress into disrepute and other political parties took full advantage of the situation to carry on propaganda against the Congress and Congressmen.”

16. Legislators holding office in the Local Bodies :

With regard to the question whether the members of the legislature should hold office in the local bodies, the Working Committee adopted a resolution to the following effect :

“The Working Committee does not approve of the same person being a member of Parliament or local legislature and being Chairman of local bodies. In the case of members of the House of the People, this convention has to be strictly adhered to

In other case, the Pradesh Congress Committees should consider and endorse this convention as far as possible."

The Pradesh Congress Committees were specially advised to comply with these directions of the Working Committee and were asked to intimate to the A.I.C.C. office, the reasons justifying the departure, if any, from this accepted principles.

17. Ministry and the Party :

In connection with the remarks on Delhi Congress affairs, the Congress President pointed out that the Congress Party of the Legislature should meet frequently. It should meet not only to consider matters before the Assembly but with regard to other matters which might be considered important, the party should be taken into confidence to the greatest possible extent. There should be frank discussion in the party and full opportunity be given to the Party to express its opinion. Whenever any charges were made, these should be immediately investigated. The investigation should be, to begin with, a broad and speedy one, to indicate if there was any substance whatever in the charges. If any substance was found, then a fuller investigation should take place.

18. Cabinet and the Pradesh Congress :

In connection with Rajasthan affairs, the Congress President made the following remarks :

" Our Parliamentary system places the Chief Minister in a key position in government. Having chosen him and expressed their confidence in him, the Party should give him full opportunity to exercise his own discretion in the choice of his colleagues. No Cabinet can be formed by the intervention of the organisation, though in some matter, informal consultation might take place. The organisation is obviously important. But it has been clearly laid down that the organisation should not interfere in the formation of the Cabinet or in the day to day working of the government. All these are responsibilities of the government and the organisation should only deal with the major matters of policy. The responsibility for running the government remains with the Chief Minister and his colleagues and not with the organisation."

19. Nomination of Chief Whip :

With regard to the nomination of the Chief Whip, the Congress Legislature Parties were advised to consider the question whether the Party should elect full number of persons for the executive committee, as well as for the offices, without electing the office-bearers separately. Out of these elected persons, the Chief Minister would elect his own Chief Whip and perhaps the Secretary. *In this way, the persons who had been appointed as the Chief Whip or the Secretary, would have been elected by the Party as a member ; thus the choice of the Chief Whip or the Secretary was that of the Leader, thereby facilitating coordinated work in the party, with the Leader as the head and his important colleagues in the Party Executive continuing to hold offices with the confidence of the Leader.*

AJMER

Parliamentary affairs in the States :

Differences arose among the members of the Congress Legislature Party and attempts were made by some members of the Party to secure permission of the Parliamentary Board for moving a vote of no-confidence against the leader of the Party. The Congress President himself carefully examined the political situation in Ajmer and, after hearing the different view points, he suggested that the best course would be for the present Leader to continue with certain changes in the portfolio. It was also noted that the Pradesh Congress Committee of Ajmer was not in favour of any change in the leadership of the party and that was also a relevant consideration. The Congress President, in a detailed note addressed to the Congress Leaders in Ajmer, suggested that no major change was desirable and all Congressmen should work in a spirit of discipline without forming any groups. Of course, a rearrangement of portfolios had to be made, and, in that connection, the fact that every important subject must be placed before the Cabinet as a whole, was duly taken note of.

The members readily accepted the suggestion of the Congress President and the question of no-confidence against the Leader was not pressed by the members concerned.

Some reports had been received in the A.I.C.C. Office against the personal conduct of Shri Bhagirath Singh, Speaker, Ajmer Legislative Assembly. The matter had been referred to the P.C.C. for report, who suggested that his conduct had not been above reproach. Further enquiry also confirmed that the conduct of the Speaker was likely to bring disrepute to his office and Congress organisation. The Congress President advised Shri Bhagirath Singh to resign from Speakership at an early date. Accordingly, he resigned and the Deputy Speaker, Shri Ramesh Chandra Bhargava was elected in his place.

Bihar :

The Parliamentary Board took serious notice of the reverses in the elections to the Patna Corporation and it was felt

that this election indicated that the State Congress organisation was exceedingly feeble or that the choice of the candidates was bad. The election was certainly a severe warning and it was necessary to hold an enquiry and try to remedy the defects that would be found.

In the Council of States election, the Congress nominee, Shri Shah Umair, was defeated and some prominent Congressmen from Bihar represented to the Congress President that a deep frustration was growing amongst the Muslims. The Congress President expressed his concern about this situation and asked the P.C.C to find out the exact political situation and take all possible steps to remove this feeling from the minds of the Muslims and to see that they are not driven to other folds in a spirit of resentment against the Congress Government and the Congress organisation.

The Parliamentary Board considered the situation and noted with grave concern the lack of discipline in Congress organisation in Bihar, as exemplified in several recent elections, more specially in the elections to the Patna Corporation and in the election to the Council of States, since a number of members of the Congress Legislature Party had apparently deliberately defied the Congress directions in this connection. The Board authorised the Congress President to take necessary action in the matter.

The Congress President examined the entire question and gave the following suggestions :—

1. In choosing a candidate, greatest care should be taken that he had local backing.

2. Congressmen would have to consider themselves specially responsible for the welfare and protection of minority interests. It must be emphasised that both from the point of view of Government and the Congress, a sense of fair play and satisfaction amongst the Muslims, Christians and other minorities should be produced.

3. The Congress organisation should disavow all forms of casteism and there should be no attempt to compromise with it for the sake of election or some other reason. The Congress would

fail to function if it weakened on the caste front. That would split it up and there would be different loyalties.

4. Finally, the Congress must function actively and progressively. The reasons for the grave slackening of the tempo of Congress work, such as the lack of vitality in the enrolment of members, the non-payment of various dues and collections of the Congress, non-compliance with the directions issued by the A.I.C.C. or the P.C.C., should be done away with.

At the same time, the Congress President pointed out that the A.I.C.C. was fully prepared to cooperate with the Pradesh organisations to the fullest extent for re-vitalising the Congress organisation. "In reality, there are no superiors or inferiors in the Congress and we are all in the same body, sailing or sinking together. It is in this spirit that I wish this matter to be considered by you and by us," remarked the Congress President.

Bhopal:

In December, 1953, Shri Kamta Prasad resigned Finance Ministership of Bhopal State under the advice of the Congress President. He and 6 other M.L.As. resigned from the Congress Legislature Party as a protest against the decision of the Party expelling Shri Gulab Chand Tamot from the same. Later in 1954, Shri Kamta Prasad issued a statement to the press announcing his intention to withdraw his resignation from the Congress and requesting the A.I.C.C. to take disciplinary action against him, if necessary, even to the extent of demanding his resignation from the membership of the Assembly. It was pointed out to him that his resignation from the Congress became effective on the day when it was given and that he ceased to be a member of the Congress Legislature Party from the same date. With regard to his intention to resign from the Assembly membership, he was informed that he was free to deal with the same according to his own discretion.

The vacancy created by the resignation of Kamta Prasad in the Cabinet was not filled up till the September 1954, when Shri Umrao Singh, Deputy Minister (Harijan) was appointed as a Minister in the Cabinet.

DELHI

Differences were marked among the members of the Congress Legislature Party in Delhi and the Congress President took the matter up for his personal consideration. He met some members of the Party individually and also attended a meeting of the Congress Legislature Party, where the members of the Party were asked to record by secret ballot their preference for the Leader of the Party. Votes were divided between the present leader, Shri Brahma Prakash and Shri C. Krishnan Nair, President, Delhi P.C.C. The result was not announced. The Congress President, gave his decision early in July, 1954 recommending that the present Ministry, consisting of three Ministers, should continue and that there should not be any Deputy Minister. He clearly pointed out that his advice was based on the larger view of the working of the Delhi State Government and the desirability of making it less top-heavy. Accordingly, the Deputy Ministers resigned.

The Congress President authorised Shri Dev Kant Borooah member of the Working Committee, to draw up a list of the office-bearers of the Executive Committee of the Legislature Congress Party, as no agreement could be arrived at between the different groups in the Party. On September 10, 1954, Shri Borooah announced his decision and urged on the members of the party to work unitedly.

The Delhi Municipal elections were due to be held on October 31st, 1954. In view of the fact, that the Delhi P.C.C. could not have an agreed list, owing to differences of opinion amongst prominent members, Shri Dev Kant Borooah was asked to finalise the selection of candidates in consultation with the President and the General Secretary of the Pradesh Congress. He announced the list just before his departure for the United States.

Difference however persisted among the members of the Legislature Party and the Parliamentary Board have requested Shri Govindballabh Pant to examine the same and give his own advice.

Hyderabad :

Representations were received from some M.L.As. that they had lost confidence in the present leader and wanted permission to elect a new leader in his place. Early in January 1954, the

Congress President had occasion to visit Hyderabad and thereon a meeting of the Congress Legislature Party was held in his presence. The Congress President advised the members to work unitedly and gave them the opportunity to choose their leader freely, if they so preferred. Votes were taken by ballot. Shri B. Ramakrishna-rao was re-elected Leader of the Party by majority votes. The Chief Minister reconstituted his cabinet. General directions regarding settlement of differences of opinion were given and the members were urged to resolve their differences through mutual consultation and the guidance of the Leader of the Party, instead of running to the Press for ventilating their grievances. It was pointed out that there should be frequent consultation and co-ordination between all the wings of the Congress-Parliamentary, Organisational and Constructive.

Madhya Bharat:

The Leader of Madhya Bharat Congress including the President of the P.C.C., the Chief Minister, President of the Madhya Bharat Branch of the I.N.T.U.C., and others met in Delhi. It was decided that a committee be appointed by the P.C.C. President to formulate a programme of radical reforms to be placed before the Government for implementation and that there should be meetings between the Chief Minister and some of his colleagues on one side and the President of the P.C.C., on the other, to discuss questions of policy. In cases of differences regarding the behaviour of Congressmen working through the I.N.T.U.C., the advice of Shri Khandubhai Desai and the Congress General Secretary would have to be sought.

In July, 1954, there was trouble in Indore following a students' demonstration. There was an outbreak of violence and the Police had to resort to firing. There was a good deal of discontent among the people, the Party and the Congress organisation. Shri S. N. Agarwal was deputed by the Congress President to attend the meeting of the Congress Legislature Party. He reported that the real difficulty in Madhya Bharat was due to the continued friction and conflict between the regional interests of Gwalior and Indore, and the other difficulty was the lack of coordination between the Ministry and the Congress organisation.

The small committee, formed earlier, consisting of the Chief Minister, the P.C.C. President, and a representative of the I.N.T.U.C. to help in bringing about some form of coordination and cooperation, failed to work effectively. Differences among the party members still continued and the leadership of Shri Mishrilal Gangwal was in question. Some members repeatedly sought permission to express their feelings in a party meeting to be convened for the specific purpose and, if possible, replace the present leader. The Congress President assured the members that the Centre was deeply interested in their problems and in helping them solve the questions that arose. The Congress Legislature Party met on the 20th September 1954 and Shri S. N. Agarwal attended the same. A vote of confidence was passed in favour of Shri Mishrilal Gangwal. Instead of reconstituting the Ministry, Shri Gangwal decided to retain all his colleagues in the Ministry, only with a change in the portfolios of some of the Ministers.

Madhya Pradesh :

Shri Ghanshyam Singh Gupta, who had been Speaker of the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, from 1937 to 1939 and 1946 to 1951, was re-elected to the State Assembly in the General Elections. But he was not re-elected as the Speaker. After the election of the Speaker, he felt that there was a breach in the tradition which ought to have been followed and he was of the opinion that an ex-Speaker should not continue to be a member in the Assembly, unless he was re-elected to his office and following the traditions of Parliamentary practice, it was better for him to resign from the Assembly. He corresponded with the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The latter suggested to him not to press for his resignation. But he was insistent on tendering his resignation, and pointed out that no useful purpose would be served by his continuing to be a member of the Assembly. Ultimately, Shri Gupta resigned in the middle of 1954. Sri Mohanlal Bakliwal has been elected in his place.

Shri R. K. Patil, Minister for Development, Madhya Pradesh tendered his resignation owing to differences arising out of the question of transference of the portfolio of development to the

direct charge of the Chief Minister. Shri S. K. Wankhade, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, was appointed Minister in his place. Recently, four more Deputy Ministers have been appointed in addition to six, who had been appointed in the beginning.

In connection with the appointment of Deputy Ministers, the Congress President pointed out that these appointments should be based on two factors—where work was heavy, the Deputy Ministers were to help in dealing with it, and particularly the appointment should give opportunities to really promising youngmen to get trained for future responsibility.

Madras :

In March 1954, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, Leader, Congress Legislature Party informed the Congress President that he had been confined to bed and wanted to free himself from all work. Due to his indifferent health, it was not possible for him to continue as Chief Minister. The Congress President also felt that since Shri Rajagopalachari had been ailing for a considerable period, he could not press him to continue as Chief Minister. As such, he advised the Party to elect his successor soon and to see that his resignation must not lead to any weakening of the Congress itself. The Congress Legislature Party met on March 30, 1954, and Shri Kamaraj Nadar was elected Leader by majority votes. Shri Kamaraj Nadar informed the Parliamentary Board that he was compelled to seek election as Leader, forced by circumstances, though he did not like to be the Chief Minister. The Board reviewed the situation and suggested two alternatives :

(1) Since Shri Kamaraj Nadar had been elected as Leader of the Congress Legislature Party, he should resign the Presidentship of the P.C.C. and assume office as Chief Minister.

(2) Or, he might continue as President and resign from the office of Leadership of the Congress Legislature Party. Shri Kamaraj was asked to give full consideration to these suggestions and take the final decision.

Later on, Shri Kamaraj Nadar informed the A.I.C.C. that he decided to continue as the Leader and accept office as Chief Minister of Madras. The Ministry was reconstituted with Shri Kamaraj Nadar as the head, with practically the same personnel.

Mysore :

Some charges were made against the Chief Minister and some of his colleagues by some members of the Congress Legislature Party and there was a persistent demand for his removal. In the month of June 1954, Shri S. N. Agarwal visited Mysore, and met members of the Congress Legislature Party, M. Ps. and members of the P. C. C. He submitted his report to the Congress President. It was found that the charges against the Chief Minister were vague and his opponents had not been able to establish anything serious against him. The Congress President suggested that either informally or otherwise, the Congress Legislature Party should express their view points if they wanted the present Leader to continue in office or not. The first thing to be done was to convene a full meeting of the Party and ask them to vote on a motion of confidence in the leader. The Parliamentary Board reviewed the political situation in Mysore and decided that positive steps should be taken to resolve the differences among the members of the Congress Legislature Party. In case a proper rapprochement was found difficult, the Leader should be asked to seek a vote of confidence. On December 10, 1954, the Congress Legislature Party met in Bangalore. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair, Member, Congress Working Committee was deputed to conduct the proceedings of the meeting. Votes were taken by ballot and the vote of confidence was passed in favour of the present leader, Shri K. Hanumanthaiah by a "good majority."

Pespu :

After the general elections in February, 1954, the Congress Party secured 37 seats out of 60. Shri Raghubir Singh was elected Leader of the Congress Legislature Party and he accepted office as Chief Minister. Four other Ministers, 3 Deputy Ministers and three Parliamentary Secretaries were appointed.

Punjab :

Dr. Satya Pal, Speaker, Legislative Assembly died. Shri Gurdial Singh Dhillon, Deputy Speaker was elected in his place.

Rajasthan :

There had been considerable feeling of discontent amongst the members of the Congress Legislature Party of Rajasthan

against the Leader. It was claimed that the majority of the members did not favour the policy adopted by him on certain major issues. Several attempts were made to bring about rapprochement, and a formula for coordinated work was drawn up. It was expected that regular contact between the P.C.C. and the Cabinet, as well as members of the Congress Legislature Party would bring about better relationship and remove all causes of misunderstanding. But the matters did not improve.

There was also an attempt to move a vote of no-confidence against the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Shri Narottam Lal Joshi, on the ground that he indulged in active politics. The Parliamentary Board pointed out that the question of removal of the Speaker should not be left merely to the decision of the Party Members. Previous sanction of the Parliamentary Board had to be taken before any move was made in the matter. In case the Board felt satisfied after proper enquiry that the Speaker had failed to discharge his responsibilities duly, he might be advised to resign. Shri Balvantray Mehta went to Jaipur, attended the meeting of the P.C.C. met the members of the Congress Legislature Party, and other leaders. He pointed out that it was essential to work harmoniously both in the interests of the State and of the organisation.

The Parliamentary Board considered the Rajasthan affair and decided that in view of the fact that the Party position in Rajasthan was adverse to the present Ministry, it was desirable that Shri Jai Narain Vyas should be allowed to reconstitute his Cabinet and seek a vote of confidence. Later on, Shri Jai Narain Vyas met the Congress President in Delhi, who advised him that it was open to him to ask for a vote of confidence of the Party at any stage, with or without reshuffling the Cabinet. It was further pointed out that the proper procedure would be for the members to vote in a secret ballot in favour of the person, they wished to be the leader. The person who would be so elected necessarily would have the confidence of the Party. Shri Jai Narain Vyas convened a meeting of the Party for this purpose on 6th November, 1954. Shri S. N. Agarwal attended the same. In the meeting, Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia was elected leader. He accepted office as the

Chief Minister. Eight other Ministers and three deputy Ministers were appointed to form the Rajasthan Cabinet. The Parliamentary Board again reviewed the Rajasthan situation and advised the Congress Legislature Party of Rajasthan that no further move of no-confidence motion would be entertained. The Party was asked to elect its office-bearers just before the next session of the Assembly.

Saurashtra:

Shri U. N. Dhebar, Leader of the Congress Legislature Party and Chief Minister, Saurashtra has been unanimously elected as President, Indian National Congress and resigned leadership of the Party. Shri Rashiklal U. Parikh, Home Minister, Saurashtra has been elected in his place and has accepted office as Chief Minister, Saurashtra. There has been no alteration in the old team of Shri Dhebar except that Shri K. A. Patil has been added to it as a Deputy Minister.

TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

In the general elections, early in February 1954, the Congress secured 45 seats out of 117. The Parliamentary Board reviewed the election results in Travancore-Cochin and was of the opinion that the Congress should not attempt to form Ministry by itself and that, if the PSP Leader, Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai, accepted office, the Congress might give him help without accepting any ministerial responsibility as long the Ministry worked in line with the Congress programme and did not go against the accepted principles of the Congress. Accordingly the Congress Ministry resigned and the PSP Leader accepted office in March 1954.

Large-scale disturbances broke out in South Travancore in August, 1954, following the 'Direct Action' movement started by the TTNC Leaders. The Police resorted to firing to stop mob violence and destruction. Considerable agitation was raised over the question of police firing. The leaders of the PSP, to whom the Chief Minister owed allegiance, expressed different viewpoints and some of the top leaders condemned the Government. The Central Executive of the PSP asked for an open judicial enquiry into the incidents.

In October 1954, Shri Balvantray Mehta toured Travancore-Cochin for about five days and, in his report, he gave an analysis of the Congress reverses in the elections and a review of the political situation.

A convention of the members of the Travancore-Cochin PCC, members of the Congress Legislature Party, Presidents of the DCCs and the newly-elected delegates was held at Ernakulam on the 12th December 1954 and the question of continuing the support to the present ministry was carefully considered. The convention adopted a resolution pointing out that the Congress Legislature Party lent its general support to the Ministry because the Party wanted to avoid President's rule and thus support a democratic set-up within the State as far as it could. But the previous nine months' experience had caused disillusionment to the State Congress. There had been no consultation with the

Congress Party and little attempt was made to arrive at an understanding with it regarding consultation. The assurance of the Chief Minister proposing to bring supplementary demands for the development works for relieving unemployment had not been given effect to.

For this and other reasons, the Congress organisation in the State including the Congress Party in the Legislature felt that the policy pursued thus far by the PSP had borne no satisfactory result. It was therefore suggested that the general support given to the present government in Travancore Cochin by the Congress Party should be withdrawn. The Parliamentary Board felt that the situation that had arisen was unsatisfactory and there was justification for the convention to adopt such a resolution. The Board, however, was anxious that no step which might necessitate the imposition of the President's rule in the State, should be taken without careful consideration. At the same time, it was no longer possible for the Congress Party in Travancore-Cochin to give indiscriminate support to the present Government; more specially, when any proposal was made or action taken by the Government which was opposed to Congress policy or was not in the interest of the people of the State. The Board decided to give freedom of action in this matter to the Congress Legislature Party in Travancore-Cochin. If any occasion arose in the opinion of the Party that a proposal of the Government was not desirable from the point of view of the Congress principles or the interest of the State, it might be opposed or substantive proposal should be forwarded by the Congress Party.

Andhra :

On October 2, 1953 the Andhra Ministry with Shri T. Prakasam as Chief Minister and Shri N. Sanjivireddi, as Deputy Chief Minister was installed in office by a coalition of the Congress with other parties, namely the PSP, the KLP, the KMPP (rump) and a few independents. The members were owing allegiance to different parties, and could not reconcile themselves to the fact that they should have a common discipline and common programme of work. The party position was rather uncertain and sometimes some members worked in their own way. On certain

issues, such as the location of the capital, the High Court, and the Ministers' Salaries Bill, a few members of the Congress Legislature Party voted with the opposition. This form of indiscipline was causing worry to the leaders. Similar tendencies of indiscipline were in evidence amongst the other parties also.

Shri Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary, AICC visited Andhra in the first part of July and made a tour of almost all the districts. He met workers and discussed with them issues of importance, both administrative and organisational. He gave directions regarding the following :—

- (1) Formation of a party consisting of Government supporters ;
- (2) Advisability of having frequent consultation with Party ;
- (3) Regular contacts between the Ministers and the Congress organisation ; and
- (4) Reorganisation of the Congress.

In the Assembly meeting on November 6, 1954, a resolution expressing want of confidence in the Government for their failure to implement the recommendations made in the Ramamurthy Committee on the working of the Prohibition in Andhra, was moved and it was passed by a majority of one. Two members of the Congress Legislature Party voted against the Government. The ministry resigned and asked for dissolution of the Assembly and the holding of fresh elections in the immediate future. The Parliamentary Board approved of the decision.

Announcement for general elections to be held in February 1955 was made by the Election Commission. The Andhra Congress, the KLP and the Andhra Praja Party have united among themselves to fight the Common battle against opposing parties. The three parties will conduct the election on a common platform, though under their own symbols. The names of the candidates of each party had been settled jointly in consultation with each other. The candidates, returned on behalf of the three parties, will form themselves into one party, which will be called the United Congress Legislature Party, and will work as a single unit,

under one leader and common programme of work and discipline in the Legislature. The Party shall generally decide all matters by simple majority vote. But, if at any time, any of the parties concerned feel strongly against any such decision, it shall be referred to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, who shall give his decision after consulting the respective party leaders and that decision shall be final and binding.

Uttar Pradesh :

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Leader of the Congress Legislature Party, Uttar Pradesh, has been appointed a Cabinet Minister in the Union Government and has resigned the Chief Ministership of U. P. Shri Sampurnanand has been unanimously elected as the leader of the Congress Legislature Party and has accepted office as Chief Minister and has reconstituted his Cabinet.

Four vacancies have been created in the House of the People by the death of Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, (Bahraich), resignation of Smt. Vijayalakshmi Pandit (Lucknow), and Shri Shiv Narain Tandon (Kanpur) and invalidation of the election of Shri Harishankar Prasad from Gorakhpur.

General Elections in Pepsu and Travancore-Cochin :

General Elections were held in Pepsu and Travancore-Cochin in the month of February, 1954. The Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly was dissolved in September, 1953 and Shri A. J. John, the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party was asked to continue in office till the elections were completed by February, 1954. The Pepsu Legislative Assembly was dissolved on the 5th March, 1953 and the President of the Indian Republic assumed to himself all the functions of the State Government. The Parliament extended the period of President's rule by another 6 months. It was announced that the people should be given opportunity to elect representatives of their own choice in a fair and impartial manner. Elections were held in February, 1954.

Pepsu :

The Congress contested all the 60 seats in the election of 1954 and captured 37 seats. In the General Elections of 1951-52, the Congress had won only 26 seats. Thus the election of 1954

resulted in the overwhelming majority of the Congress in the Pepsu Legislature.

We give below the comparative analysis of the seats secured by the respective parties in the two General Elections :—

<i>Party.</i>	<i>Seats Secured.</i>	
	1954	1951-52
Congress ..	37	26
Akali (R.W.) ...	10	19
Akali (L.W.) ...	2	
Communists ...	4	3
Independents ...	7	8
Jan Sangh ...	...	2
P. S. P. ...	...	1
S. C. F. ...	...	1
Total ...	<u>60</u>	<u>60</u>

Congress got 3,95,750 votes in the Election of 1951-52 and 6,96,234 in 1954 out of the total valid votes of 13,54,455 and 15,95,397 respectively. A comparative analysis of the percentage of voted polled by respective parties in both the elections is given below :—

<i>Party.</i>	<i>Percentage of Votes.</i>	
	1954	1951-52
Congress ...	43·6	29·2
Akali ...	26·8	23·4
Communists ...	6·1	6·8
Independents ...	21·3	27·3
Jansangh and Hindu Mahasabha } ...	1·9	3·0
P. S. P. ...	0·2	3·9
S. C. F. ...	0·1	3·2
Forward Bloc (M) ...	...	1·8
K. L. P. ...	...	1·1
Total ...	<u>100·0</u>	<u>100·0</u>

The Congress came out successful with flying colours in the elections of 1954, in Pepsu. It captured 61.6 per cent of the total seats in this election. Both the Right and Left Wings of the Akali Party, who were the main opposition in this election, got crushing defeat at the hands of the Congress. The percentage of votes polled by the Communist Party in 1954 fell to 6.1 from 6.8 in 1951-52.

Travancore-Cochin :

Prior to Delimitation of constituencies, the number of seats in Travancore-Cochin Assembly was 108. The elections of 1954 were held as per Final Order of the Delimitation Commission, according to which, the Assembly consists of 117 seats. The Congress put up candidates in 115 seats. We give below a comparative analysis of the seats secured by respective parties in the two elections.

<i>Party.</i>	<i>General Elections.</i>	
	1954	1951-52
Congress ...	45	44
P. S. P. ...	19	11
Commnists ...	23	
R. S. P. ...	9	6
K. S. P. ...	3	1
T. T. N. C. ...	12	8
Independents ...	6	38
Total ...	117	108

In the elections of 1951-52, Communists did not put up candidates separately. They fought as Independent candidates. So the strength of 38 Independents returned in 1951-52 includes the Communist members as well. Though the Congress could not gain additional seats in the election of 1954, as compared to the election of 1951-52, yet if the total percentage of votes polled in favour of the Congress in two elections is compared, it becomes evident that Congress has definitely faired well. The Congress secured 17,63,336 votes out of the total valid votes of 39,07,704 in 1954 election i.e. 45.2 percent of the total votes, whereas it had secured 12,11,090 votes out of total 33,00,153 i.e. 36.7 percent of the total votes in 1951-52.

We give below the comparative analysis of percentage of votes polled by respective parties in two General Elections :—

<i>Party.</i>	<i>Percentage of Votes.</i>	
	1954	1951-52
Congress	45.2	36.7
P. S. P.	16.0	14.6
Communists	16.6	
R. S. P.	5.4	3.0
K. S. P.	3.0	2.0
T. T. N. C.	6.0	6.0
Independents	7.8	37.7
Total	100.0	100.0

The Congress had to give a straight fight against the united Opposition Parties. In spite of that, it is heartening to note that Congress polled larger percentage of votes in 1954

Biennial Election to the Council of States :

The term of the 74 members of the Rajya Sabha expired on the 2nd April, 1954, in terms of the Constitution of India. 69 of these were to be elected by the Members of the State Legislative Assemblies in various States and the rest of the vacancies were to be filled up by nomination. Out of these 69 members, the retiring members belonging to the Congress Party were 47. The elections were held in the 1st week of March, 1954. The Congress captured 55 seats in this election and, consequently, added the strength of the Congress Party in the Rajya Sabha by 8 members.

We give below the States wherefrom the additional seats have been captured by the Congress :

<i>State.</i>	<i>No. of additional seats secured.</i>
Madras	2
Travancore-Cochin	1
Vindhya Pradesh	1
Madhya Bharat	1
Mysore	1
Orissa	1
Manipur	1
Total	8

From Andhra, two members of the Congress Party retired. In the biennial election, Congress could retain only one seat and the other was lost to the opposition. Out of the 47 retiring Congress members of the Rajya Sabha, 34 were re-elected in this election on Congress ticket.

Bye-Elections :

There have been 6 bye-elections to the Lok Sabha and 35 bye-elections in State Legislative Assemblies, since the last Kalyani Congress. Lok Sabha constituencies where bye-elections have been held are: Sibsagar North Lakhimpur (Assam). Bhandara - Double - member (Madhya Pradesh), Fazilka-Sirsa (Punjab), Kanpur District Central (Uttar Pradesh) and Jhargram-cum-Midnapur (West Bengal). Congress had captured all these six seats in the last General Elections but in the bye-elections, Congress retained five and lost one. From the Bhandara General Constituency, the P.S.P. candidate, Shri Ashoka Mehta, was declared elected in a straight fight with the Congress.

Out of the total 35 bye-elections, held in the respective State Legislative Assemblies, Congress had captured 28 seats in the last General Elections. In the bye-elections, Congress secured 25 seats. Of these, 19 relate to the seats earlier won by the Congress and six additional seats have been added from the opposition.

The constituencies which were captured by the Congress in the last General Elections but have been lost to the opposition during the bye-elections ; are given below :—

<i>Constituency.</i>	<i>Party to Whom the seat lost.</i>
1. Gagwana (Ajmer)	... Independent
2. Marhaura (Bihar)	... P. S. P.
3. Roshanara (Delhi)	... Jan Sangh
4. Fatehabad (General) (Punjab)	... P. S. P.
5. Fatehabad (Reserved) (Punjab)	... P. S. P.
6. Badaun-South-West (U. P.)	... P. S. P.
7. Chandla (Vindhya Pradesh)	... P. S. P.
8. Seondha-General (Vindhya Pradesh)	Hindu Mahasabha
9. Seondha-Reserved (Vindhya Pradesh)	P. S. P.

The seats which were captured by the opposition parties in the last General Elections but have been won by the Congress in the bye-elections are :—

<i>Constituency.</i>	<i>Party from whom the seat gained.</i>
1. Kanker-Reserved. (Madhya Pradesh)	... Independent
2. Mehna (Punjab)	... Communists
3. Amber — ' A ' (Rajasthan)	... R. R. P.
4. Amber — ' B ' (Rajasthan)	... Independent
5. Kaisarganj — North (U. P.)	... Independent
6. Diamond Harbour (West Bengal)	... K. M. P. P.

Since last General Elections, there had been 25 bye-elections to the Lok Sabha. 12 of the vacancies had been created by death, 7 by resignations and 6 by the annulment of the elections by the Election Tribunals. In the last General Elections, Congress had captured 20 of these seats but in the bye-elections, Congress succeeded in 15 only and lost 10. Details have been shown in *Appendix I*.

In State Legislative Assemblies, there had been 179 bye-elections, since the last General Elections. Of these, 104 had been declared invalid by the Election Tribunals, 41 vacancies had been created by resignations and 34 by deaths. Congress had captured 102 seats in the last General Elections, out of these 179. In the bye-elections, Congress won only 99 seats. Thus the net loss as a result of these bye-elections to Congress is of three seats. Details have been shown in *Appendix II*.

We give below comparative analysis of the Assembly seats captured by different parties :—

<i>Party.</i>	<i>Bye-Elections.</i>	<i>General Elections.</i>
Congress	99	102
P. S. P.	35	17
Communists	10	10
Jan Sangh	6	5
Hindu Mahasabha	5	3
R. R. P.	0	3
S. C. F.	1	1
Akali (Punjab)	3	4
Independents	13	23
Other Regional Parties	7	11
Total ...	179	179

Analysis of bye-election results :

A comparative voting analysis of the total bye-elections held so far both in Lok Sabha, as well as in State Legislative Assemblies, shows that the Congress has gained in percentage of votes in bye-elections, as compared to the votes polled in the same constituencies in the last General Elections. In Lok Sabha, the total percentage of votes polled in favour of Congress comes to 50·4 per cent in the bye-elections, whereas in the last General Elections, it was 48·8. In the State Legislative Assemblies, the percentage of votes polled in favour of Congress, in bye-elections, have increased to 47·5 per cent from 39·5 per cent, polled in the same constituencies in the last General Elections. Details of comparative analysis of voting has been given in *Appendices III to VI*.

A Statewise comparative analysis of percentage of votes polled by respective parties gives the clear indication of the party position in different States. Details for the same have been given in the *Appendices VII and VIII* for Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assemblies respectively. The Lok Sabha bye-elections have been held in 12 respective States since the last General Elections. Excepting Assam, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Congress has gained in percentage of votes in the bye-elections, as compared to the percentage of votes polled by the Congress in the same constituencies in the last General Elections.

In Assam, the percentage of votes polled by Congress in the bye-elections decreased to 48·9 per cent from 53·4 polled in the General Elections and in U.P. to 41·1 per cent from 59·1 per cent. There had been two bye-elections in Uttar Pradesh for Lok Sabha. For Allahabad seat there had been no contest. In Kanpur, the fight was triangular. The rival candidates to the Congress, P.S.P. and Communist nominees, secured a good percentage of votes in their favour. In Bihar, the percentage of votes polled by Congress in the bye-elections fell to 27·6 per cent from 51·9 per cent polled in the General Elections. This sharp decrease was due to the fact that the Congress contested only two seats in the bye-elections out of three; while in the General Elections, all these seats were contested by the Congress. The Praja Socialist Party recorded an

increase in the percentage of votes in Bihar, Madras, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, in the bye-elections to the Lok Sabha, as compared to the votes polled by this party in the same constituencies in the General Elections. The Communist Party contested the Lok Sabha bye-elections in Assam, Madras, U.P. and West Bengal. In these constituencies, during the General Elections, this Party contested only in West Bengal. The proportion of votes of the Communist Party increased from 10·6 per cent to 37·3 per cent in West Bengal.

Out of the 179 bye-elections, held so far in respective State Assemblies, Congress put up candidates in 166 seats as compared to 173 seats in the General Elections. Praja Socialist Party and Communist Party contested respectively 91 and 41 seats in the bye-elections, whereas they had put up candidates in 106 and 32 seats respectively in the General Elections for these seats. The bye-elections have been held in all the States excepting Bhopal and Coorg. A Statewise comparative analysis of percentages of votes polled by Congress in the bye-elections to Legislative Assemblies shows that Congress has secured more votes in all the States as compared to the votes polled in the same constituencies in the General Elections, except in Ajmer, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. In Ajmer and Delhi, Communal Parties have increased the proportion of their votes from 26·9 to 36·3 and from 31·4 to 50·3 per cent respectively. In Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh also, the percentage of votes have increased in favour of communal parties in bye-elections from 29·8 to 41·5 and from 13·3 to 19·3 respectively. In Uttar Pradesh, Congress lost 7 seats to the P.S.P. in the bye-elections. These seats had been won by the Congress in the General Elections. But the comparative analysis of the percentage of votes polled shows that the position is not so discouraging. In the bye-elections, the percentage of votes polled by the Congress comes to 42·4 per cent as compared to 42·6 per cent polled in the General Elections in these constituencies. The percentage of votes in Uttar Pradesh polled by the Praja Socialist Party has increased in bye-elections to 37·3 per cent from 21·0 per cent polled by the party in the General Elections in these constituencies. These gains had been mostly made at the cost of Independents and Communal Parties.

The P.S.P. has recorded increase in the percentage of votes in the Assembly bye-elections also in Assam, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Vindhya Pradesh ; while in Bombay and Madras, the percentage of votes polled by P.S.P. has gone down from 18·2 to 3·9 and 31·6 to 8·8 respectively compared to the votes polled in General Elections. The percentage of votes polled by the Communist Party increased in Andhra, Assam, Hyderabad, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Travancore-Cochin and West Bengal, in the bye-elections, compared to those in the General Elections in these constituencies, though in some States, the increase in percentage is slight. In Bombay, the percentage of votes, polled by the Communist Party, fell to 3·9 per cent from 6·0 per cent. Communist Party however contested the bye-elections only in a limited number of seats. The Communists did not contest from these constituencies, where vacancies had been created, both in the General Elections and in the bye-elections, in Ajmer, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Pepsu, Saurashtra and Vindhya Pradesh.

Latest Party Positions in State Legislative Assemblies

Ajmer :

Congress	...	20
Jan Sangh	...	3
Purushartha Panchayat	...	1
Independents	...	6
		<hr/>
Total	...	30
		<hr/>

Assam :

Congress	...	88
P. S. P.	...	5
Communist Party	...	1
All Peoples' Party	...	2
Durbar	...	1
Independents	...	7
United Mizo Freedom organisation	...	1
		<hr/>
Total	...	105
		<hr/>

Bihar :

Congress	...	242
Socialist Jharknd	...	55
Independent	...	15
Janata Party	...	8
Lok Sevak Sangh	...	7
Forward Block (Marxist)	...	1
K. M. P.	...	1
R. R. P.	...	1
Nominated	...	1
		<hr/>
Total	...	331
		<hr/>

Bhopal :

Congress	...	23
P. S. P.	...	3
Hindu Mahasabha	...	1
Jan Sangh	...	1
Independents	...	2
Total	...	30

Bombay :

Congress	...	266
Peasants & Workers	...	13
Praja Socialist	...	9
Kamgar Kesari	...	2
Communists	...	2
Bharat Krishakar Lok Paksha	...	1
S. C. F.	...	1
Independents	...	20
Nominated	...	2
Total	...	316

Coorg :

Congress	...	15
Independents	...	9
Total	...	24

Delhi :

Congress	...	38
Jan Sangh	...	4
Hindu Mahasabha	...	1
Communist	...	1
P. S. P.	...	1
Independent	...	3
Total	...	48

Himachal Pradesh :

Congress	...	29
Independent	...	6
P. S. P.	...	1
Total	...	36

Hyderabad :

Congress	...	96
P. D. F.	...	39
U. P. P.	...	35
S. C. F.	...	2
Independents	...	3
Total	...	175

Madhya Bharat :

Congress	...	77
Hindu Mahasabha	...	10
R. R. P.	...	2
Jan Sangh	...	3
P. S. P.	...	5
Independents	...	2
Total	...	99

Madhya Pradesh :

Congress	...	196
P. S. P.	...	9
Socialist	...	2
Sheikari Kamkari Paksha	...	2
R. R. P.	...	2
Independents	...	18
Nominated	...	1
Vacant seats	...	3
Total	...	233

U. P.

Congress	...	383
P. S. P.	...	27
Communists	...	2
Jan Sangh	...	2
Hindu Mahasabha	...	1
Praja Party	...	2
Independent	...	10
Anglo Indian	...	1
Vacant seats	...	3
Total		431

Vindhya Pradesh :

Congress	...	36
P. S. P.	...	15
R. R. P.	...	2
Jan Sangh	...	1
Hindu Mahasabha	...	1
Independent	...	2
Vacant	...	3
Total		60

West Bengal :

Congress	...	156
C. P. I.	...	29
Independents	...	5
P. S. P.	...	16
Nationalist Democratic Party	...	17
Forward Block	...	15
Vacant	...	2
Total		240

N. B.:—There is President's Rule in Andhra and the elections will be held in February 1955.

Leaders of the Congress Legislature Parties in States

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Ajmer | ... Shri Hari Bhau Upadhyaya. |
| 2. Assam | ... Shri Bishnuram Medhi. |
| 3. Bihar | ... Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha. |
| 4. Bhopal | ... Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma. |
| 5. Bombay | ... Shri Morarji Desai. |
| 6. Coorg | ... Shri C. M. Poonacha. |
| 7. Delhi | ... Ch. Brahm Perlash. |
| 8. Himachal Pradesh | ... Dr. Y. S. Parmar. |
| 9. Hyderabad | ... Shri B. Ramkrishna Rao. |
| 10. Madhya Bharat | ... Shri Mishrilal Gangwal. |
| 11. Madhya Pradesh | ... Shri Ravi Shankar Shukla. |
| 12. Madras | ... Shri K. Kamraj Nadar. |
| 13. Mysore | ... Shri K. Hanumanthaiya. |
| 14. Orissa | ... Shri Nabakrushna Chaudhuri. |
| 15. Pepsu | ... Shri Brishbhan. |
| 16. Punjab | ... Shri Bhimsen Sachar. |
| 17. Rajasthan | ... Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia. |
| 18. Saurashtra | ... Shri Rasiklal U. Parikh. |
| 19. Travancore-Cochin | ... Shri P. Govinda Menon. |
| 20. Uttar Pradesh | ... Dr. Sampurnanand. |
| 21. Vindhya Pradesh | ... Shri Shambhunath Shukla. |
| 22. West Bengal | ... Dr. B. C. Roy. |

APPENDIX I

ANALYSIS OF BYE-ELECTION RESULTS OF LOK SABHA
(Since Last General Elections upto 20th December, 1954)

Serial Number and State.	No. of Elections held.	Bye-Elections.				General Elections.				Net Result.
		Seats won by Congress.	Seats won by P. S. P.	Seats won by other Parties.	Seats won by Congress.	Seats won by P. S. P.	Seats won by other Parties.			
1. Assam	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
2. Bihar	3	Nil	3	Nil	2	1	Nil	Nil	—2 (one seat left uncontested).	
3. Bombay	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
4. Madhya Bharat	1	Nil	Nil	1-H.M.	Nil	Nil	Nil	1-H.M.	Nil	
5. Madhya Pradesh	4	2	2	Nil	4	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
6. Madras	3	1	1	1-F.B.	2	2	Nil	1-F.B.	—2	
7. Punjab	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	—1	
8. Rajasthan	3	2	Nil	1-Ind.	2	Nil	Nil	1-Ind.	Nil	
9. Saurashtra	2	2	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
10. Travancore-Cochin	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
11. Uttar Pradesh	2	2	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	
12. West Bengal	3	2	Nil	1-Comm.	2	Nil	Nil	1-Jan Sangh	Nil	
Total	25	15	6	4	20	1	4	1	4	
									—5*	

* All these five seats have been lost to P. S. P.

NET LOSS : 5

{ (1) Muzaffarpur—North West—Bihar.
 (2) Bhagalpur—Purnea (General)—Bihar (Not contested).
 (3) Mahasamud—(Madhya Pradesh).
 (4) Karnool—Andhra
 (5) Bhandara (General)—Madhya Pradesh.

APPENDIX II **ANALYSIS OF BYE-ELECTIONS RESULTS IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES** **(Since Last General Elections upto 20th December, 1954).**

Serial No. and State.	Bye-Elections		General Elections		Net	
	No. of Elections held.	Seats won by Congress.	Seats won by Congress.	Seats won by Congress.	S. P.	K.M.P.P. Indpts.
1. Ajmer	5	2	Nil	3	Nil	Nil
2. Andhra	1	1	Nil	1	Nil	Nil
3. Assam	7	1	3	Nil	1	Nil
4. Bihar	12	8	3	6	2	Nil
5. Bombay	9	6	1	7	Nil	Nil
6. Delhi	7	2	Nil	5	Nil	Nil
7. Hyderabad	10	5	1	5	Nil	Nil
8. Madhya Bharat	7	3	1	4	Nil	Nil
9. Madhya Pradesh	3	1	1	5	Nil	Nil
10. Himachal Pradesh	10	7	2	Nil	Nil	Nil
11. Madras	19	8	6	9	Nil	Nil
12. Mysore	4	4	Nil	7	4	4
13. Orissa	10	6	2	3	Nil	Nil
14. Pepsu	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
15. Punjab	14	8	2	9	1	1
16. Rajasthan	14	12	1	4	Nil	6
17. Saurashtra	6	5	Nil	1	1	9
18. Travancore-Cochin	3	2	Nil	6	Nil	1
19. Uttar Pradesh	15	6	7	13	1	1
20. Vindhya Pradesh	10	5	4	8	1	1
21. West Bengal	11	7	1	7	Nil	3
TOTAL	179	99	35	102	11	60
						-3

Out of these 179 Seats :

1. Contested by Congress in Bye - elections	166	5. Contested by Communists in Bye - elections	41
2. " " " " General "	173	6. Contested by Communists in General elections	32
3. " " " P.S.P. " Bye - elections	91		
4. " " " General "	106		
7. Retained by Congress in Bye - elections	64		
8. Lost by Congress to : P.S.P.	21 Bye-Election		
Communists	2		
Jan Sangh	3		
Hindu Mahasabha	4		
Independents and			
other Parties	8		
		Total...38	
9. Gained by Congress from :			
P.S.P.	4		
Communists	5		
Jan Sangh	2		
Hindu Mahasabha	2		
R.R.P.	3		
Independents	15		
Janata (Bihar)	3		
Akali (Punjab)	1		
		Total...35	NET LOSS : 3

APPENDIX II—(Contd.) **Constituencies Left Uncontested by the Congress in Bye-Elections—13**

1. Aijol	...	(Reserved)	(Assam)
2. Kalimpong	...	(General)	(West Bengal)
3. Srungge Varapukota	...	"	(Madras)
4. Alamanda	...	"	(Madras)
5. Visianagaram	...	"	(Madras)
6. Visianagaram	...	(Reserved)	(Madras)
7. Visakhapatnam	...	(General)	(Madras)
8. Bhimavaram	...	"	(Madras)
9. Kandaghat	...	"	(Pepsu)
10. Kandaghat	...	(Reserved)	(Pepsu)
11. Mecheri	...	(General)	(Madras)
12. Ramachandrapuram	...	"	(Madras)
13. Lungbh	...	(Reserved)	(Assam)

Seats which were captured by Congress in the General Elections but were lost to the Opposition in Bye-Elections—32

Lost to P. S. P.	21		
1. Poona City (South-West)	...	(General)	(Bombay)
2. Chauri	...	(Reserved)	(Madhya Pradesh)
3. Koil (Central)	...	(General)	(Uttar Pradesh)
4. Mahanga	...	"	(Orissa)
5. Allahabad City (Central)	...	"	(Uttar Pradesh)
6. Deoria South	...	"	(Uttar Pradesh)
7. Fatwa	...	"	(Bihar)
8. Khurai	...	"	(Madhya Pradesh)
9. Burtolla	...	"	(West Bengal)
10. Morena	...	"	(Madhya Bharat)
11. Sidhuli (West)	...	"	(Uttar Pradesh)
12. Sidhuli (West)	...	"	(Uttar Pradesh)
13. Sagari (East)	...	(Reserved)	(Uttar Pradesh)
14. Jaipur-Kotme	...	(General)	(Uttar Pradesh)
15. Mahaura	...	(Reserved)	(Vindhya Pradesh)
16. Wanarparthy	...	(General)	(Bihar)
17. Fatehabad	...	"	(Hyderabad)
	...	"	(Punjab)

18. Fatehabad	...	(Reserved)	(Punjab)
19. Chandla	...	(General)	(Vindhya Pradesh)
20. Badayn (South East)	...	"	(U. P.)
21. Soondha	...	(Reserved)	(Vindhya Pradesh)
Lost to Communists	...	2	
1. Nakodar	...	(General)	(Punjab)
2. Ramayanpeth	...	"	(Hyderabad)
Lost to Communal Parties	...	6	
1. Pahari-Dhijaj-Basti-Julahan	...	(Reserved)	(Delhi)
2. Ajmeri Ghat	...	(General)	(Delhi)
3. Mandseur (North) (Lost twice)	...	"	(Madhya Bharat)
4. Guna	...	"	(Madhya Bharat)
5. Roohanara	...	"	(Delhi)
6. Soondha	...	"	(Vindhya Pradesh)
Lost to Independents	...	7	
1. Taleja Datha	...	(General)	(Saurashtra)
2. Kaisarganj (North)	...	"	(Uttar Pradesh)
3. Dharwar	...	"	(Bombay)
4. Khurai	...	3	(Madhya Pradesh)
5. Mecheri	...	"	(Madras)—Not contested
6. Kangayam	...	"	(Madras)
7. Gangwana	...	"	(Ajmer)
Lost to Ekkaran Party	...	1	
1. Hubly	...	(General)	(Bombay)

Seats which were Lost in the last General Elections by Congress But Gained in Bye-Elections from Opposition

Gained from P. S. P.	...	4	(Madras)
1. Puthur	...	(General)	(Travancore-Cochin)
2. Changanore	...	"	(Bihar)
3. Gogri	...	"	(West Bengal)
4. Diamond Harbour	...	5	
Gained from Communists	...	(General)	(Bombay)
1. Nawapur Sakri	...		

—(P. & W.)

2. Nawapur Sakri	...	(Reserved)	(Bombay)
3. Peddamungor	...	(General)	(Hyderabad)
4. Bhagir	...	"	(Hyderabad)
5. Mehna	...	(General)	(Punjab)
Gained from Jan Sangh	...	2	
1. Barwani (S. T.)	...	(Reserved)	(Madhya Bharat)
2. Deosar	...	(General)	(Vindhya Pradesh)
Gained from Hindu Mahasabha	...	2	
1. Khategaon	...	(General)	(Madhya Bharat)
2. Sironj	...	"	(Rajasthan)
...	...	3	
Gained from R. R. P.	...	(General)	(Rajasthan)
1. Parbatesar	...	"	(Rajasthan)
2. Nagaur (East)	...	"	(Rajasthan)
3. Amber (A)	...	"	(Rajasthan)
Gained from Janta Party (Bohar)	...	3	
1. Petarbar	...	(General)	(Bihar)
2. Bagodar	...	"	(Bihar)
3. Gomia	...	"	(Bihar)
Gained from Akali (punjab)	...	1	
1. Dabawali	...	(General)	(Punjab)
Gained from Independents	...	15	
1. Nagmangola	...	(General)	(Mysore)
2. Athmalik	...	"	(Orissa)
3. Jodhpur	...	"	(Rajasthan)
4. Marvi Malia	...	"	(Saurashtra)
5. Laharighat	...	"	(Assam)
6. Raika	...	"	(Himachal)
7. Kallakurachi	...	"	(Madras)
8. Virudhunagar	...	"	(Madras)
9. Birkampur	...	"	(Orissa)
10. Asind	...	"	(Orissa)
11. Sanchore	...	(Reserved)	(Orissa)
12. Kaisarganj (North)	...	(General)	(Rajasthan)
13. Kanker	...	"	(Rajasthan)
14. Kanker	...	"	(Uttar Pradesh)
15. Amber (B)	...	(Reserved)	(Madhya Pradesh)
	...	(General)	(Rajasthan)

—P. D. F.
—P. D. F.

APPENDIX III

LOK SABHA

COMPARATIVE VOTING — GENERAL AND BYE - ELECTION

((Since Last General Elections up to 20th December, 1954)

Serial No. and State.	No. of Bye-Elections held.	BYE-ELECTIONS			GENERAL ELECTIONS		
		Votes polled by Congress.	Votes polled by Opposition.	Total Votes Polled.	Votes polled by Congress.	Votes polled by Opposition.	Total Votes Polled.
1. Assam.	1	61,127	63,839	1,24,966	90,279	76,786	1,69,015
2. Bihar.	3	93,036	2,44,193	3,37,229	3,35,667	3,11,533	6,47,200
3. Bombay.	1	72,808	61,169	1,28,977	1,51,952	1,09,085	2,61,037
4. Madhya Bharat.	1	38,846	42,534	81,380	54,638	84,774	1,39,412
5. Madhya Pradesh.	4	3,62,347	3,55,718	7,18,065	6,29,836	5,62,038	11,91,874
6. Madras.	3	1,91,279	2,30,581	4,21,860	1,41,611	2,52,865	3,94,476
7. Punjab.	1	48,818	18,300	67,118	75,412	1,39,021	2,14,433
8. Rajasthan.	3	92,957	81,561	1,74,518	1,65,194	2,65,196	4,30,390
9. Saurashtra.	2	61,255	7,682	68,937	98,093	65,930	1,64,023
10. Uttar Pradesh.	2	60,087	76,319	1,36,406	1,57,520	1,09,072	2,66,592
11. Travancore-Cochin.	1	1,57,006	1,16,747	2,73,853	1,30,245	1,37,584	2,67,829
12. West Bengal.	3	2,23,264	1,52,383	3,75,647	2,12,429	2,40,924	4,53,353
TOTAL:	25	14,62,830	14,41,026	29,03,856	22,44,876	23,56,758	46,01,634
PERCENTAGE:		50.4%	49.6%	100%	48.8%	51.2%	100%

APPENDIX IV

LOK SABHA

COMPARATIVE VOTING — GENERAL AND BYE-ELECTION

(Since Last General Elections upto 20th December, 1954.)

Serial No. and State.	Number of Bye-elections.	P. B. P. (Bye-elections)	K.L.P.P. and B.P. (General Elections).	Communists Bye-elections.	Communists General Elections.	Jan Sangh H.M. & R.R.P. (Bye-elections)	Jan Sangh H.M. & R.R.P. (General Elections).	Independ- ents (Bye-elections)	Independ- ents (General Elections).	Other Parties (Bye-elections)	Other Parties (General Elections).
1. Assam.	1	7,620	47,120	39,816	...	...	...	16,403	31,616	...	...
2. Bihar.	3	2,42,360	2,83,958	...	...	...	...	1,833	27,675	...	...
3. Bombay.	1	51,169	1,09,085	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4. Madhya Bharat.	1	...	...	...	11,216	42,534	70,343	...	3,215	...	...
5. Madhya Pradesh.	4	1,99,574	2,02,417	...	...	...	1,38,897	23,661	55,436	1,32,483 (SOF)	1,65,298
6. Madras.	3	94,872	23,636	51,138	...	...	...	15,443	1,21,431	69,128	1,07,798 (SOF)
7. Punjab.	1	...	...	...	...	...	12,672	18,300	71,104	...	55,245 (Akali)
8. Rajasthan.	3	5,316	...	...	...	...	...	76,245	2,09,032	...	56,164 (KLP)
9. Saurashtra.	2	...	11,679	...	...	7,682	...	...	30,650	...	23,601 (HMS)
10. Travancore-Cochin.	1	...	...	...	14,574	...	...	1,16,747	79,895	...	43,115
11. Uttar Pradesh.	2	45,300	54,137	31,019	...	...	10,445	...	44,490	...	x
12. West Bengal.	3	46,125	77,424	85,668	32,168	5,431	65,026	15,746	62,930	5,415	13,376
TOTAL :	125	8,86,336	8,09,456	2,07,639	57,968	55,647	2,97,373	2,84,378	7,37,374	2,07,026	4,34,597
PERCENTAGE :		23.9%	17.6%	7.2%	1.2%	1.9%	6.5%	9.8%	16.0%	7.1%	9.9%

APPENDIX V **STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY** **(Since Last General Election upto 20th December 1954)** **COMPARATIVE VOTING OF GENERAL AND BYE-ELECTIONS**

Serial Number and State	Number of (Bye-Elec- tions held),	Bye-Elections			General Elections			
		Votes polled by Congress	Votes polled by Opposition	Total votes Polled.	Votes polled by Congress	Votes polled by Opposition	Total votes Polled.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1 Ajmer	5	6,999	12,761	19,760	13,745	14,498	28,243	
2 Andhra	1	21,923	26,369	48,292	19,002	26,648	45,650	
3 Assam	7	40,632	57,850	98,482	26,206	99,630	1,25,886	
4 Bihar	12	1,23,886	95,927	2,19,813	1,04,160	1,49,236	2,53,396	
5 Bombay	9	1,48,823	1,62,667	3,01,490	1,91,163	2,26,153	4,17,316	
6 Delhi	7	36,196	49,098	86,294	45,178	36,411	81,589	
7 Hyderabad	10	1,27,117	1,40,925	2,68,042	1,21,184	1,93,695	3,14,879	
8 Himachal Pradesh.	3	4,939	11,057	15,996	8,460	14,913	23,373	
9 Madhya Bharat	7	48,553	61,926	1,10,479	55,717	71,867	1,27,574	
10 Madhya Pradesh	10	1,02,902	77,438	1,80,340	1,34,253	1,93,721	3,27,974	
11 Madras	19	3,19,699	3,40,392	6,60,091	3,00,029	6,46,327	9,46,356	
12 Mysore	4	64,249	49,867	1,14,216	66,390	66,203	1,22,593	
13 Orissa	10	1,21,457	1,31,360	2,52,817	1,03,876	1,62,612	2,66,488	
14 Pepon	2	...	68,656	68,656	...	21,750	21,750	
15 Punjab	14	2,53,361	288,948	5,42,309	2,14,390	3,89,128	6,03,518	
16 Rajasthan	14	99,890	1,12,772	2,12,752	74,714	1,39,656	2,14,370	
17 Saurashtra	6	42,307	21,258	63,565	37,099	34,677	71,776	
18 Travancore-Cochin.	3	81,286	62,878	1,42,964	42,187	92,615	1,34,702	
19 Uttar Pradesh.	15	2,02,034	2,74,949	4,76,983	2,25,788	3,03,815	5,29,603	
20 Vindhya Pradesh...	10	40,336	53,624	93,960	56,600	76,763	1,33,363	
21 West Bengal	11	1,11,556	1,28,714	2,40,270	1,31,538	1,74,151	3,05,689	
TOTAL	179	19,98,265	22,09,336	42,07,601	19,62,679	31,33,409	50,96,088	
PERCENTAGE	...	-47.5%	52.5%	100 %	38.5 %	61.5 %	100 %	

APPENDIX VI STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES COMPARATIVE VOTING OF GENERAL AND BYE-ELECTIONS (Since Last General Elections upto 20th December, 1954.)

Serial No. and State.	Number of Elections held.	P. S. P. (By-elections)	K. M. P. P. & S. P. (General elections)	Communists (By-elections)	Communists (General elections)	Jan Sangh (By-elections)	Jan Sangh (General elections)	H. M. and R. P. (By-elections)	H. M. and R. P. (General elections)	Independents (By-elections)	Independents (General elections)	Other Parties (By-elections)	Other Parties (General elections)	Regional Parties (By-elections)	Regional Parties (General elections)
1. Ajmer.	5	310	...	...	20,644	17,367	7,177	7,393	5,274	6,905	...	5,725	...	...	6,120
2. Andhra.	1	...	...	...	11,322	8,923	...	...	...	3,161	...	5,725	...	...	6,120
3. Assam.	7	30,435	24,421	...	8,123	...	...	...	...	5,435	...	9,633	...	...	10,795
4. Bihar.	12	61,620	41,305	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,583	...	9,961	...	...	45,024
5. Bombay.	9	18,705	75,771	11,841	25,034	...	6,301	16,023	21,118	56,011	...	94,702	...	...	53,364
6. Delhi.	7	685	446	4,505	...	...	42,863	25,612	999	10,353	...	116	...	...	...
7. Hyderabad.	10	13,879	2,677	1,21,544	1,10,873	...	...	1,581	5,502	73,659	...	...	...	...	4,305
8. Jharkhand Pradesh.	3	5,851	...	...	...	...	...	435	...	11,386	...	5,205	...	...	3,092
9. Madhya Bharat.	7	16,071	8,627	...	...	...	45,855	38,080	...	25,150	...	...	...	...	...
10. Madhya Pradesh.	10	68,496	42,700	...	...	...	...	16,332	...	1,27,399	...	...	...	...	7,390
11. Madras.	19	57,308	2,99,270	1,34,971	59,511	...	...	...	74,570	1,83,387	...	73,543	...	...	1,04,139
12. Mysore.	4	31,436	33,886	3,154	...	...	...	...	15,347	32,317	...	...	...	...	...
13. Orissa.	10	50,830	27,888	20,158	14,579	...	...	...	30,132	93,184	...	70,239	...	...	...
14. Pepsu.	2	1,636	...	...	...	...	...	...	57,020	11,146	...	...	...	...	26,961
15. Punjab.	14	43,049	39,985	83,998	46,718	...	...	...	32,952	80,333	...	1,20,130	...	...	4,017
16. Rajasthan.	14	21,270	11,528	8,006	4,475	...	...	...	34,451	73,850	...	9,366	...	...	1,93,027
17. Saurashtra.	6	4,889	5,455	...	...	...	5,077	4,219	11,025	15,067	...	267	...	...	4,493
18. Travancore-Cochin	3	25,144	25,729	19,258	16,772	...	...	...	3,053	50,014	...	15,223	...	...	9,395
19. Uttar Pradesh.	15	1,77,732	1,11,241	1,17,293	9,105	...	...	...	69,798	96,362	...	...	...	...	...
20. Vindhya Pradesh.	10	33,281	41,824	...	...	...	18,158	17,692	1,485	13,872	...	700	...	...	21,118
21. West Bengal.	11	30,140	48,320	46,929	32,565	...	...	7,493	37,124	68,700	...	14,621	...	...	4,675
TOTAL:	179	6,32,767	8,41,073	5,12,177	3,45,972	...	1,94,135	2,88,387	4,20,965	11,42,128	...	3,89,292	...	...	5,15,849
PERCENTAGE:		16.5%	16.5%	12.2%	6.8%	...	4.8%	5.7%	10.0%	22.4%	...	9.2%	...	...	10.1%

APPENDIX VIII
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PERCENTAGE OF VOTES POLLED STATE WISE
IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES.
(Since Last General Elections upto 20th December, 1954)

Sl. No.	Name of State	Number of Bye-Elections held.	Bye-Election					General Election					Independ.	Other Parties.
			Congress.	Communist.	& R. H. P.	Independ.	Other Parties.	Congress.	Communist.	& R. H. P.	Independ.	Other Parties.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.	Ajmer	5	35.4	1.6	...	36.3	26.7	...	48.7	...	...	26.9	34.4	...
2.	Andhra	1	45.4	...	42.7	...	...	11.2	41.6	...	...	...	6.2	13.4
3.	Assam	7	41.3	30.9	12.0	...	6.0	9.8	20.8	19.4	7.1	...	43.1	8.6
4.	Bihar	12	56.4	28.0	3.7	...	7.4	4.5	41.3	16.4	...	2.0	22.5	17.8
5.	Bombay	9	49.4	6.2	3.9	2.1	7.0	31.4	45.3	18.2	6.0	3.9	13.4	12.8
6.	Delhi	7	42.4	0.8	5.3	50.3	1.1	0.1	55.4	0.5	...	31.4	12.7	...
7.	Himachal Pradesh	3	30.9	36.6	...	—	...	32.5	36.5	...	...	1.9	48.7	13.2
8.	Hyderabad	10	47.4	5.1	45.4	...	2.1	...	38.5	0.0	35.2	0.5	23.4	1.5
9.	Madhya Bharat	7	44.0	14.5	...	41.5	...	...	43.7	6.8	...	9.8	19.7	...
10.	Madhya Pradesh	10	57.0	38.0	...	...	5.0	...	40.9	13.0	...	5.0	38.9	2.2
11.	Madras	19	48.5	8.8	20.4	...	11.2	11.1	31.7	31.5	6.3	...	19.4	11.0
12.	Mysore	4	56.2	27.5	2.8	...	13.5	...	46.0	27.6	...	...	26.4	...
13.	Orissa	10	48.0	20.1	8.0	...	11.9	12.0	38.3	10.5	5.5	...	35.0	10.2
14.	Pepu	2	...	2.8	...	...	97.2	...	...	...	...	...	51.2	18.5
15.	Punjab	14	46.7	7.9	15.5	1.6	6.1	22.2*	35.5	6.6	7.8	4.8	13.3	32.0*
16.	Rajasthan	14	47.0	10.0	5.8	18.7	18.2	4.3	34.8	5.4	2.1	21.1	34.5	2.1
17.	Saurashtra	6	66.6	7.7	...	8.0	17.3	0.4	51.7	7.6	...	5.9	21.0	13.8
18.	Travancore-Cochin	3	58.4	17.3	13.4	...	2.1	10.6	31.3	1.7	12.5	...	37.1	...
19.	Uttar Pradesh	15	42.4	37.3	3.6	4.2	12.5	...	42.6	21.0	1.7	1.25	18.2	4.0
20.	Vindhya Pradesh	10	43.0	3.4	...	19.3	1.6	0.7	49.4	31.4	...	13.3	9.5	3.4
21.	West Bengal	11	46.4	12.5	19.5	...	15.5	6.1	43.0	15.8	10.7	2.4	22.5	5.6
Total		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

* Akali received 18.96 votes % votes in Bye-Election and 21.77% votes in General Elections.

PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

The fortnightly AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW and ARTHIK SAMEEKSHA continued their publication during 1954. The circulation of both has increased considerably.

The other publications issued by the Department in the year were :-

- (i) Nine issues of the CONGRESS BULLETIN ;
- (ii) BUILDING NEW INDIA ;
- (iii) RESOLUTIONS ON ECONOMIC POLICY AND PROGRAMME—1924-54 ;
- (iv) THE SEVENTH YEAR OF FREEDOM ;
- (v) REPORT OF THE CONGRESS VILLAGE PANCHAYAT COMMITTEE ;
- (vi) A second impression of LAND REFORMS IN INDIA ;
- (vii) CONGRESS SEVA DAL DRILL MANUAL No. 7 ;
- (viii) TOWARDS A SOCIALIST ECONOMY ;
- (ix) LETTERS TO P.C.C. PRESIDENTS—
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ;
- (x) REPORT TO THE A.I.C.C.—AVADI, JAN. 1955
—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

An arrangement has been made with the Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Delhi, for the publication in Hindi of a series of low priced small pamphlets, on the current problems in India and for their wide circulation. The scheme is expected to take effect in the course of 1955.

FOREIGN-RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

The main activities of the Foreign Relations Department include :—(i) the maintenance of contacts in other countries. Literature, published by the Congress on various matters concerning India, are supplied to individuals and organisations and specially to political parties; contacts with Indian embassies abroad and with foreign embassies in India; liaison relations with non-official Indian bodies, like the Indian Council of World Affairs and similar organisations and universities in foreign countries; (ii) the study of the problems of Indians, born or domiciled in countries outside India, and giving of any assistance in this direction—such as, defining their status and right etc. in the countries, where they live and have any disabilities, to bring them to the notice of the public and the Government concerned. This work was undertaken specially in South Africa, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Mauritius, East Africa, Fiji and West Indies; (iii) the giving of moral support of the Congress and any help to the people of the Foreign Possessions in India in their movement for freedom. Guidance and assistance are also given to the Congress Committees of the neighbouring territories in this regard.

The Department receives from time to time Delegations and visitors from various countries. In 1954, it received delegations from South Africa, Tunisia, Algeria, East Africa, America, England, Portuguese, East Africa, Sikkim and Foreign possessions in India.

The Department has taken special interest in the happenings in the following countries :

South Africa :

In recent years, the Government of the Union of South Africa have arrogated dictatorial powers unto themselves to oppress and humiliate millions of non-whites, whose elementary rights have been denied and legitimate aspirations suppressed. The Indian Community has been made to bear the full blast of the Government fury. But, reared in the hazards of struggle from the time of Mahatma Gandhi, who lived in South Africa between 1893 and 1914, it has learnt how to pursue the objective in the

face of oppression. The African National Congress, which represents the overwhelming majority of the people, through its wise and able leadership, has made it possible, for all South Africans, including some whites, to co-operate in this common struggle.

Thus, conditions in South Africa are today ripe for the establishment of a solid front against the party in power. This has been made possible largely by the Defence Campaign. A good basis in this direction has been laid at a joint Conference in March 1954, of the members of the Executive Committees of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation. This Conference agreed to convene a Congress of the People of South Africa to draw up a Freedom Charter. Considerable progress has been made in its planning and arrangements. It will give the organisations of the people, which represent Africans, Indians, Europeans and Coloureds, an opportunity to work together for a common goal.

The Indian National Congress has, time and again, condemned the South African policies of apartheid and racial discrimination : in which the Congress sees a threat to world peace. It had, therefore, always extended its moral support to the oppressed in Africa. To the South African Indian Congress Conference, held on 9th July, the General Secretary, Shri Balvantray Mehta, sent the following message of good wishes :—" We are indeed very glad to know that the 21st Conference of the South African Indian Congress is going to be held on 9th July 1954. In Africa, one sees today in its extreme form both racial discrimination and domination, and the old colonialism at work. Unfortunately, the African Government do not understand that such policy may perhaps apparently succeed for a short while, but it is bound ultimately to court a signal failure, because the fact of the matter is that in the world of today, it has become almost impossible to terrorise the people into submission by sheer brute force. We are aware of the gallant struggle conducted by your great organisation in co-operation with the biggest organisation of South Africa — the African National Congress, against this inhuman suppression of civil

liberties and human rights carried on by the South Africans. The Indian National Congress since its inception, has raised its voice against colonial rule in any part of the world. We, therefore, are always ready to render your joint struggle our full moral support. We wish your Conference all success."

On the occasion of the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held in Durban, from 16th to 19th December, 1954, the General Secretary, Shri Balvantray Mehta, despatched the following message :

" On behalf of the Indian National Congress, I send you our greetings and good wishes on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress. You are aware that the Government and people of India are firmly opposed to racial discrimination as well as to colonial domination. They stand for multi-racial societies where every group has full freedom. We have been deeply distressed by developments in South Africa, which have resulted in the loss of even the existing very limited rights of large numbers of people and where fundamental rights have been suppressed. We wish you all success in your endeavour to protect these basic human rights and secure the freedom of the African people."

North Africa :

The Foreign Relations Department has been in close contact with the freedom movements in North Africa, i.e., Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. It extends from time to time the moral support of the people of India to the principal organisations of North Africa, that are engaged in this struggle. The Department also helps in focussing the attention of the free and democratic countries of the world towards this colonial repression in North African countries. Information is supplied to the Government and people of India with a view to enlighten them in this regard.

Tunisia :

The French Prime Minister, Mr. Mendes-France has proposed internal autonomy to Tunisia. This was to be arranged by the signing of 7 conventions relating to French settlers and French interests in Tunisia, after which full powers would be transferred to an all-Tunisian Government. The Tunisian Cabinet was in fact

set up under the Premiership of an independent nationalist, Mr. Tahar Ben Amar, on August 4th, and, after careful consideration, the Neo-Destour Party, representing the vast majority of the Tunisian people, agreed to participate in this Government and to the opening of negotiations with France. In taking this decision, *the Neo-Destour Party was acting in accordance with its oft-repeated desire to reach a peaceful settlement of the Franco-Tunisian disputes and to bring to an end the long years of conflict and repression. This decision was taken despite the fact that all the Neo-Destour Party leaders were in detention or in exile till when the proposals were made (Habib Bourguiba, President of the Neo-Destour Party, continues to be a prisoner in France even now) and that the national resistance movement was at a high peak.*

It was understood that, pending these negotiations, the French, on their part, would do their best to restore normal conditions in Tunisia by ending repression and the military regime which had been in force, since January, 1952. So, the Neo-Destour Party authorised Mr. Monji Slim, Director of the Political Bureau, and 3 other members to join the new Government and to undertake negotiations with France. The negotiations opened in September in a cordial atmosphere, first in Tunis and then in Paris, and were making some progress. But early in October, it was found that the situation inside Tunisia was not returning to normal as was expected. On the contrary, the French were bringing in more troops into the country to suppress the Tunisian resistance movement. This resistance movement, known as the National Liberation Army, popularly called "Fellaghas" was started early this year, to resist the increasing attacks by French troops on unarmed villagers and nationalists everywhere. It played a vital part in impressing upon the French Government the necessity of a quick change in policy. At the beginning of negotiations, the Tunisians had asked the French to call off their campaign and to withdraw their troops to barracks, pending the outcome of Franco-Tunisian negotiations. This the French did not do. On the contrary, with the lessening of their military commitments in Indo-China, they sent reinforcements of land and air forces to Tunisia in a deliberate attempt to crush the Tunisian resistance army before

the negotiations are concluded. The Tunisian people consider this action by France as a breach of good faith and contrary to the declarations of Mr. Mendes-France in July.

Towards the end of October, the situation in Tunisia became so unsettled and the progress of negotiations so slow that the Neo Destour Party found it necessary to call an urgent meeting of the Party's National Council on November 14, 1954, to discuss the whole question of the internal situation and the continuance of negotiations with France. At the same time the Tunisian Prime Minister, Mr. Tahar Ben-Amar, went on an urgent mission to the French Government to ask them to save the situation by solving the problem of the "Fellaghas" immediately.

Algeria :

The French have not confined their military operations to Tunisia only. After the military Conference on October 15, 1954, they began to suppress the nationalists in Algeria. This provoked the resistance fighters leading to an armed conflict. Fighting is now widespread in Algeria. The Algerian People's Party appealed to the Indian Government and the Indian National Congress for support. Shri Balvantary Mehta, the General Secretary of the Congress, sent the following message to the Algerian people on 8th November, 1954 :

" We are grieved to learn of the recent armed clashes occurring in Algeria. These encounters between the Algerian Nationalists and the French armed forces are resulting in serious loss of life and threaten to develop into a racial conflict. The basic cause of this appears to us to be the spontaneous and desperate outburst of a proud, brave and long-suffering people whose national aspirations have been repeatedly ignored and stifled.

" While we are pledged to condemn violence, as it breeds counter-violence and leaves a bitter legacy which mars future cordial relations, we cannot ignore the fact that violent repression by colonial forces of the popular aspirations is the root cause of national resistance. France has unfortunately failed yet to recognise and respond to the ever insistent and growing will to freedom of the Algerian Nationalists. We extend our

strong sympathy for the Algerian people in their struggle for national independence.

“ At this grave movement in Algerian history, we appeal to all responsible people on both sides to exercise discipline and restraint and work for mutual understanding by the peaceful method of negotiation and discussion.

“ We particularly urge upon the French Government, which has just demonstrated its wisdom and statesmanship in the peaceful settlement of the dispute relating to the former French enclaves in India, to manifest the same responsive attitude of understanding in regard to Algeria and respond to the national aspirations of the people of that country in the same spirit of sympathy and friendship.”

After the disastrous earthquake in Algeria, Shri Balvantray Mehta sent the following message of sympathy to the people of Algeria on 13th September, 1954 :

“ We are indeed shocked at the news of the unprecedented calamity that has overtaken the city of Orleansville in Algeria last week. An earthquake of appalling intensity has brought about the loss of 1,340 lives. Thousands of children are orphaned and women widowed. This is a great tragedy. We hope our brothers and sisters throughout the world, especially, the well-placed Algerians, will rise to the occasion to meet a catastrophe of such magnitude. The Indian National Congress extends through you to the bereaved families its heart-felt sympathy. May God bless the souls of the victims of the disaster.”

This message cheered the people of Algeria, strengthening their friendship for India. It was broadcast by the “ Voice of the Arabs ” (Egyptian Station).

Japan :

When the news of the disastrous typhoon in Japan reached India, the General Secretary sent the following telegram to the Japanese Foreign Minister :

“ Indians shocked to learn disaster caused by dreadful typhoon killing injuring thousands of your countrymen. On behalf of Indian National Congress, we send heartfelt sympathy for distressed. Please accept.”

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

By a resolution dated 20th September, 1953, the Congress Working Committee decided to start a Women's Department in the A.I.C.C. All Pradesh Congress Committees and District Congress Committees were also asked to open Women's Departments. An Advisory Committee was set up for the Women's Department of the A.I.C.C. with the following as members :

1. Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit,
2. Smt. Uma Nehru,
3. Kumari Maniben Patel,
4. Smt. Indira Gandhi,
5. Smt. M. Chandrasekhar,
6. Smt. Sarojamma Reddy,
7. Kumari Jethi T, Sipahimalani,
8. Smt. Subhadra Joshi,
9. Smt. Savitri Nigam,
10. Smt. Rani Chanda, and
11. Smt. Bedwati Buragohain (later co-opted).

In the first meeting of the Advisory Committee held on 17th November, 1953, Smt. Indira Gandhi was unanimously elected as the Convener of this Committee, and a Women's Department was opened in the A.I.C.C. Office with Kumari Mukul Mukherjee as in charge. The following Sub-Committees were also formed :

(1) Literature Sub-Committee :

Kumari Maniben Patel (Convener), Smt. Madalsa Agarwal, Smt. Saroj Mehta and Smt. Savitri Nigam are the members.

This Sub-Committee met several times and collected some books on social, political and economic subjects from various publishers, especially, Nava Jivan, Jamia Milia, Sasta Sahitya Mandal and Aurobindo Ashram. After studying these a list of one hundred books was prepared and sent to the Woman's Departments of Pradesh Congress Committees and District Congress Committees with a suggestion that they keep these in their libraries.

(2) The Programme and Organisation Sub-Committee :

Kumari Jethi T. Sipahimalani (Convener), Smt. Uma Nehru, Kumari Maniben Patel and Smt. M. Chandrasekhar are the members of this Sub-Committee. This Committee prepared a questionnaire which was sent in December, 1953 to all Pradesh Congress Committees and District Congress Committees in order to obtain a clear picture of the position of women in the various Pradeshes and districts of India. Ten Pradesh Congress Committees and Seventy District Congress Committees answered the questionnaire.

The activities of the A.I.C.C. Women's Department included the following :

1. On 7th December, 1953, a meeting was held in the Parliament House, of the women members of Parliament, Delhi State Assembly, A.I.C.C. and P.C.C. members present in Delhi, and the wives of Central Ministers. Various problems pertaining to women's activities were considered. About forty women participated in the discussion.

2. A Women's Convention was arranged at the time of the Congress Session at Kalyani in January 1954. Women representatives came from most of the Pradesh Congress Committees and District Congress Committees. The need was stressed for women to take up constructive work through local Congress Committees. Many other Congress-women, who came to Kalyani, were also contacted as well as the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees, in connection with work among women in the Pradeshes.

3. Till now, the following Pradeshes have started Women's Department :

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 1. Ajmere. | 8. Hyderabad. |
| 2. Andhra. | 9. Karnatak. |
| 3. Assam. | 10. Madhya Pradesh. |
| 4. Bombay. | 11. Madhya Bharat. |
| 5. Delhi. | 12. Maharashtra. |
| 6. Gujrat. | 13. Malayala. |
| 7. Himachal. | 14. Manipur. |

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 15. Mysore. | 20. Tripura. |
| 16. Pepsu. | 21. Uttar Pradesh. |
| 17. Punjab. | 22. Vidarbha. |
| 18. Tamilnad. | 23. Vindhya Pradesh. |
| 19. Travancore-Cochin. | 24. West Bengal. |

4. In order to give direct help and co-operation and to ensure closer contact between the A.I.C.C. and the P.C.Cs. the country has been divided into fourteen zones with one prominent person as organiser for each, as under :

<i>Zone No.</i>	<i>Pradeshes.</i>	<i>Organiser.</i>
1.	Punjab, Pepsu, Himachal and Delhi ..	Smt. Indira Gandhi.
2.	Assam ..	Smt. Pushpalata Das.
3.	Gujarat, Saurashtra and Cutch ..	Kumari Maniben Patel.
4.	Bombay, Karnatak and Maharashtra ..	Kumari Jethi T. Sipahimalani.
5.	Mysore, Tamilnad and Coorg.	Smt. M. Chandra- sekhar.
6.	Hyderabad and Andhra ..	Smt. Sarojamma Reddy.
7.	Madhya Pradesh, Vidarbha and Bhopal ..	Smt. Anasuyabai Kale.
8.	Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh ..	To be Announced.
9.	Malayala and Travancore- Cochin ..	Smt. A. V. Kuttimalu Ammu.
10.	Uttar Pradesh ..	Smt. Uma Nehru.
11.	Rajasthan & Ajmer ..	Smt. Janki Devi Bajaj.
12.	West Bengal ..	Smt. Labonya Prabha Dutta.
13.	Bihar and Orissa ..	To be Announced.
14.	Manipur and Tripura ..	Smt. Bedwati Burago- hain

5. The Women Departments of the P.C.Cs. and D.C.Cs. have been asked to give more stress on social and constructive work and to avoid group politics. Their main work is to take

message of the Congress to the women of India. The A.I.C.C. has prepared a programme of work for the Women's Department of the P.C.Cs. and D.C.Cs. as follows :

Mahila Clubs should be started in cities and towns and where possible in Molallas to arrange lectures, study circles, sports, recreation and cultural activities. Efforts should be made to organise home industry centres for providing training as well as part-time employment to the women, especially of the middle-class. Activities may include tailoring, embroidery, toy-making, preparation of jams, pickles, pappads, manufacture of hand matches, spinning, weaving and hand-printing etc. Women's wing of the Congress Seva Dal should be started. Physical exercises, First Aid, Home Nursing may be included in the programme. Women should help in the prohibition work, especially by propagating in homes and elsewhere the evils of drinking. They should foster the spirit of Swadeshi among the people. Women should be encouraged to take active part in the execution of local projects under the Five Year Plan.

6. In accordance with the recommendation of the Literature Sub-Committee, a set of fifty two books has been sent by the A.I.C.C. to the Women's Department of each P.C.C. in order to give them some impetus to start libraries for study circles. The P.C.Cs. have been asked to have these translated in the regional languages.

7. After the floods in the Eastern India, the Women's Department of the A.I.C.C. sent an appeal to the Women's Departments of the P. C. Cs and the D. C, Cs to collect money and clothes for the distressed. The Women's Departments of the following Pradeshes collected money and clothes which have been sent to the people in the flood-stricken areas: Ajmer, Vidarbha, Delhi, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Uttar Pradesh, Mysore, Punjab, Assam and West Bengal.

8. At the instance of the A.I.C.C. largely attended Women's Conferences were arranged in the following Pradeshes to discuss local problems of women and to prepare plans to popularise social work among women ; Vidarbha, Maharashtra, Punjab, Himachal,

Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and Madhya Pradesh. A Convener's meeting was called by the Women's Department of the A.I.C.C. in July at Ajmer during the A. I. C. C. Session. In order to make a survey of this year's progress and to draw up a programme for the coming year, the Women's Department is arranging a meeting of the Conveners of the P. C. C. and D.C.C. Women's Departments during the Avadi Session in January 1955.

9. The Five Year Plan is a Governmental undertaking. But the co-operation of all people is essential for its successful execution. So the P.C.C. Women's Departments have been asked to give all co-operation and help to Government projects. They have been specially asked to :—

- (a) take up women's Savings Scheme Campaign ;
- (b) start home industry centres, Bal Mandirs etc. with the help of the Community Projects Administration. The Community Project Administrator and the Social Welfare Board have agreed to help our women in their constructive work.
- (c) Congress women have also been asked to work in the Project areas,

1. The Incharge of the Women's Department visited Punjab to assist the P. C. C. in starting Women's Departments at the Pradesh headquarters and in the districts. She toured Vidarbha extensively, accompanied by the zonal organiser and Incharge of the P. C. C. Women's Department,

11. The activities of Women's Departments of the P.C.Cs. included the following :

Ajmer :

In aid of the flood-affected people 1,125 lbs. of powder milk and 2,500 pairs of cloth were collected and sent to the P.C.Cs. of Assam, Bihar and West Bengal for distribution. Eight hundred rupees were collected for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. Arrangements have been made for the distribution of milk powder among children and expectant mothers. Mohalla meetings are regularly held to educate women on subjects like cleanliness, sanitation,

Charkha classes have been started in different localities. A children's library has been started as also women's Savings Campaign. A cultural show was arranged with the members of the Children's library. Arrangements have been made for a train consisting of a doctor, a nurse and a compounder with the necessary medical aid, to visit rural areas.

Vidarbha :

Women's Departments have been opened in all districts. A society named Balakrishna Mandal has been formed to start centres for nursery and primary education ; to conduct children's reading rooms ; to arrange games, sports and physical education for children ; to arrange classes on subjects like hygiene, home science, child nursing and general knowledge. Some women worked for Bhoodan. Money and clothes have been collected for the flood-affected people of Bihar, Bengal and Assam. Some Bal Mandirs have been started in the Harijan areas of the Pradesh. A Women's Conference was arranged which was attended by representatives from all districts. Periodical women's meetings are held. Help and cooperation have been given to some of the non-political women's organisations.

West Bengal :

Milk centres, industrial centres and work centres have been started for poorer woman. Primary and adult schools have been started for women. Seventeen Welfare Extension projects have been started. Funds and clothes have been collected for the people of the flood-stricken areas where some women worked. Political classes have been held for women. Training classes have been arranged for refugee women. Many women have been enrolled as Congress members. Several women's meetings have been organised.

Delhi :

Mohilla meetings have been arranged in connection with Special Marriage and Divorce Bill. In aid of the floodstricken people, 2,594 sarees, 532 yards of new cloth, 1,385 utensils and about 2,500 pieces of used clothes have been collected. Assistance has been given to a number of women to bring about reconcilia-

tion or settlement in other ways with their husbands who deserted them. Twenty four centres for the uplift of women have been started.

Hyderabad :

Money and clothes had been collected for the flood-affected people. Women's Departments have been started in five districts of the Pradesh. A one—month training camp for women was organised as well as a Women's convention. A library has been started for use by women.

Punjab :

Women's Departments have been started in all districts. Charkha classes were organised in Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur and Ferozepore. Cotton wool has been supplied to poor women for spinning. In one of the public meetings, that had been arranged, a Manpatra was presented to the mother of Shaheed Bhagat Singh. Arrangements are being made to start some industrial schools in Harijan colonies. Twenty girls worked as volunteers on the occasion of the opening of Bhakra Nangal Dam.

Nagpur :

A women's conference was arranged. Some industrial centres and children's Homes have been started. Members worked for the enrolment of primary and active members of the Congress. Some adult education centres have been started.

Uttar Pradesh :

Funds and clothes have been collected for the flood-affected people. Some industrial homes and adult education centres have been started. Some women's meetings have been arranged.

Assam :

Funds and clothes were collected for the flood sufferers and voluntary service rendered in the affected areas. Women workers have been doing spinning, weaving and Khadi prachar. Some Hindi and adult education centres and primary schools have been started. Some women's meetings were arranged and a Women's Savings Campaign started.

Bombay :

In cooperation with the Seva Dal, physical training centres for women have been started as well as some Montessori classes, welfare work and Anti-Natal centres.

Madhya Bharat :

A largely attended women's conference was arranged at Shivpuri and a Women's Savings Campaign started.

Mysore :

Funds and clothes for flood sufferers have been collected. Efforts have been undertaken to organise some work-centres for women,

Manipur :

Some women's meetings have been organised and some work centres started for women.

Tripura :

Some primary schools and industrial centres have been started. Occasional cultural gatherings and women's meetings are arranged.

Rajasthan :

A women's conference was arranged in Jaipur. Women's Departments have been opened in the districts. Some industrial homes for women are being started.

Tamilnad :

Steps have been taken to popularise Seva Dal training among women. Some industrial centres have been started. Women's meetings are arranged from time to time.

Pepsu :

Women's Departments have been started in the districts. Some money has been collected for the flood sufferers.

Refugee Centres :

In January, 1954 the two Refugee centres at Rajinder Nagar and Purana Quilla (New Delhi), the work of which was used to be supervised by the A.I.C.C., have been taken over by the A.I.C.C. Women's Department. A Sub-Committee of the Women'

Advisory Committee has been formed with the following as members to guide the work of these centres :—

Smt. Sarojamma Reddy (*Convener*),

Smt. M. Chandrasekhar.

Smt. Madalasa Agarwal,

Smt. Savitri Nigam,

and Smt. Subhadra Joshi.

Kumari Krishna Dave, Assistant Incharge of the A.I.C.C. Women's Department, is in charge of these two centres and Kumari Mahendra Kaur is the supervisor. The former often visits the centres to give guidance and help. Another honorary social worker Smt. Savitri Gopal pays regular visits to the Purana Quilla centre. Special publicity of this work is given to secure increased orders from trade establishments and the public.

SEVA DAL

The annual camp of Pradesh officers of Seva Dal took place at Mehmedabad in Gujrat. The work of 1953 was reviewed and the programme for 1954 was considered. It was decided to concentrate on Project activity, the propagation of the National Anthem and the dissemination of correct information regarding their rules and regulations and those concerning the National Flag, the All India programme of Kendra and Health activity.

Project work or Shramdan was undertaken in all the Pradeshes where Seva Dal is active, especially in Assam, Manipur, Utkal, U. P., Pepsu, Punjab, Nagpur, Madhya Bharat, Gujrat, Bombay, Hyderabad and Bihar.

Seva Dal is active in 20 Pradeshes out of 26 Congress Pradeshes. It has 621 branches in various parts of the country. The total membership now is 62,491. There are also a number of other places where Seva Dal work is undertaken but no regular reports are received.

With a view to making the correct tune of the National Anthem and other relative rules known to the public, a small booklet in the Information Series has been published. The Education Ministers of different States were requested to pay more attention to the teaching of the National Anthem to the students in the Government institutions. The Hyderabad Government, with the help of Seva Dal officers, conducted special classes for school teachers for this purpose, who in turn taught the National Anthem to the students. In Maharashtra, the Local Board have decided to give this training to the teacher in their schools with the help of Seva Dal workers. In Gujrat and U.P., special efforts have been made to implement this programme of Seva Dal. A class was also conducted at the A.I.C.C. office for its staff members. We have assisted the Film Division of the Government of India in the production of a film on the National Flag.

With a view to helping them in their studies and in imbibing discipline, study classes and hostels for school students were arranged in different Pradeshes. The progress of this work in

Gujrat has been specially satisfactory. Spinning classes, tours, excursions and blood donation are also being arranged. Seva Dal volunteers have done relief work in the flood affected areas of U.P., Bihar, Bengal and Assam. They collected funds, clothes etc. in Delhi, Gujrat, Bombay, Nagpur, Vidarbha, Maharashtra and Ajmer. The Delhi volunteers worked in the All India Khadi Exhibition held in Delhi.

A number of training classes and camps were conducted for members of Seva Dal at different places. Camps at Mussoorie and Munirabad (Hyderabad State) were conducted by the All India Office. A training class to impart administrative training to Pradesh officers was conducted in the A.I.C.C. Office.

The A.I.C.C. has given financial help towards the honoraria of those in charge of Seva Dal work in Assam, Utkal, Pepsu, Manipur, Karnatak, Travancore-Cochin, Malayala and Nagpur.

The monthly 'Dal Samachar' has completed its 7th year. A book on Drill has been published. An exhaustive report of the project works, completed during 1954, is under preparation.

Officers from A.I.C.C. visited Pepsu, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin, Malayala, Karnatak, Tamilnad, Mysore, Bihar, Bombay, Utkal, Andhra and Himachal and guided and assisted in the local work.

To make the Dal activities better known to Congress members in Parliament, two meetings of M.Ps. were convened by the General Secretary, A.I.C.C. An Advisory Committee for youth and Seva Dal Departments has been appointed. A number of M.Ps. and local Congress leaders were also contacted individually by our staff members. Special effort has been undertaken to coordinate the work of the three departments of the A.I.C.C., Seva Dal, Youth and Women.

The Annual Camp of 1954 took place in Delhi in November. The total number of campers was 64. Representatives from 19 Pradeshes out of 26 Congress Pradeshes, attended the Camp. Besides the officers on Pradesh ranks, all workers of Unch Sainik grade were allowed to attend the Camp this year. The Camp was

inaugurated by Shri Brahm Prakash and the closing function was presided over by Dr, B. V. Keskar. Topics, for talks and discussions at the Camp, included Congress organisation, Second Five Year Plan, Welfare work, Community Project work and Social Service by youth. Speakers included Shri Balvantray Mehta, Shri S. N. Agarwal, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh, Shri Jai Narain Vyas and Shri Hiralal Bose. The Camp was split into several groups, which considered matters concerning the organisational work of Seva Dal, especially, recruitment, training for leadership, discipline and channelisation of the energies of youth for constructive purposes, financial arrangements, drill, games and recreational programme. Shramdan was given in a neighbouring village. The Camp members were received by the President and the Prime Minister at their residence.

YOUTH DEPARTMENT

Report of Activities—1954

(1) The year 1954 has been considerable further progress in the A.I.C.C. youth activities, with a larger number of young people throughout the country participating. The A.I.C.C. actively assisted the remaining six or seven P.C.Cs., which did not have youth organisations, to start them in the course of the year; as a result all twenty-six P.C.Cs. have now arrangements to undertake youth work. The pattern of their organisations, however, varies. The following nine P.C.Cs. have set up, more or less, autonomous youth organisations, with provisions for membership, election etc. : Assam, Bombay, Gujarat, Malayala, Punjab, Tamilnad, Uttar Pradesh, Vidarbha and Vindhya Pradesh. The remaining seventeen P.C.Cs. have Youth Departments. Six P.C.Cs. have one full-time youth organiser each, who are paid salaries. The A.I.C.C. pays to five of these P.C.Cs. half of the salaries of their organisers. One hundred and seventy-eight D.C.Cs. and 42 Taluka Congress Committees have started branches of their Pradesh Youth Organisations. The total number of young people, who have been actively connected with Congress youth work all over India, would be approximately 30,000. Over 70% of them are students and between the ages of 18 and 24. The A.I.C.C. has given general guidance to all P.C.Cs. in their youth work and have co-ordinated such work throughout the country.

(2) The work of the P.C.C. youth organisation in 1954 included study classes for better understanding of the ideals and programme of the Congress, other political ideologies and general matters, study tours to various nation building work-centres and places of historical importance; youth conventions; cultural functions; work camps; collection of funds to assist poorer students and flood-stricken people; Hindi teaching classes; labour welfare work; Bhoodan; and publication of hand-written or printed literature.

(3) The more important activities in 1954 included thirteen Youth Conferences and 11 youth camps, as follows: *Assam* :— A Pradesh Youth Convention was held at Dibrugarh in June. Shri

Bishnuram Medhi inaugurated it and *Shri Bimalaprasad Chalik* presided. A constitution for Youth Congress was framed and adopted at the Convention. A Youth Conference was held at Imphal in August. *Bombay*.—In January 1954, a meeting, arranged by the Bombay Youth Congress and attended by over 20,000 youngmen, was addressed by *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru*. In May, a 15-day Youth Camp was organised near Kolhapur, in co-operation with the Community Project. A road was reconstructed. Discussion meetings were held in the Camp and social education was arranged in the village. *Gujarat*.—The first annual Conference was held at Baroda in October. *Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri* inaugurated it and *Shri U. N. Dhebar* presided. A five-point programme resolution was passed and a new Executive and Office-bearers elected. *Hyderabad*.—Two camps were organised in April and May at Raichur and Warangal. Bricks were laid to build a school and a road was reconstructed. *Madhya Bharat*. A Pradesh Youth Convention was held at Shivpuri on the 14th January, at the time of the Political Conference there. It was inaugurated by *Shri Hiralal Bose*. Two libraries have been opened and two adult education centres. The first Youth Congress Conference was held at Gwalior in September. (The late) *Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai* inaugurated it and *Dr. Ram Subhag Singh* presided. *Mahakoshal*.—The members of the Youth Congress collected Rs. 425 in aid of the flood-stricken people. *Maharashtra*.—A 4-day Pradesh Youth Camp was held at Nasik in June. The third Pradesh Youth Conference was held at Ahmednagar in November. *Dr. B. V. Keskar* inaugurated it and *Shrimati Indira Gandhi* presided. Eight resolutions were adopted. *Malayala*.—Three youth conferences were held in Ponnani on 27th February, at Kottayam on 8th April, and at Chirakkal from 4th to 6th June. The Youth Congress workers collected for flood relief in Assam, Rs. 375/- and 2,000 pieces of new and old clothes. *Mysore*.—Under the direction of *Shri L.T. Karle*, Secretary, P.C.C. Youth Department, a Shramdan Camp of Bharat Scouts was held in September October. Over 1,000 scouts and Rovers took part, many of whom were members of Congress youth groups. A 10½-mile road was constructed,

linking Sravanabelagola and Hirisane. A second 21-day camp was held in December under the same auspices to re-construct a 20-mile road in Bellary district, connecting about 40 villages. *Punjab* - A youth rally was held at Simla in June. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri S. N. Agarwal addressed the Youth Congress workers at Nangal on 8th July. *Tamilnad* - The second Tamilnad Youth Congress Conference was held at Pudukottai on 2nd and 3rd January, 1954. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari inaugurated it and Shri P. Ramchandran presided. A one-week training camp for Youth Congress workers was held at Vaitheeswarankoil in Tanjore in May. *Travancore-Cochin* :—A youth camp was held at Palai in April. *Uttar Pradesh* A one-week training camp of 125 youth workers was held at Atamanda, near Bareilly, in May, and another camp of 80 youth workers at Tal Behat, near Jhansi. Among those who gave talks etc., included Dr. Sampurnanand Shri C. B. Gupta, Shri Kapil Verma and Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma. A convention of representatives of the Youth Congresses in the five Universities of U.P. was held at Lucknow on December 12 and 13. It was inaugurated by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and addressed by Shri S. N. Agarwal. *Vidarbha* :—A Pradesh Youth Conference was held at Akola in July. (The late) Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai inaugurated it and Shri S. N. Agarwal presided. In aid of the students in the flood stricken areas, the Youth Congress workers collected Rs. 1,500/-and assisted the Women's Deptt. of the P.C.C. in collecting 35 bales of clothes. *Vindhya Pradesh* :—A one-week youth camp was held at Sohagi near Rewa, in June, to reconstruct a middle school building and a road. The Youth Congress workers collected 60 acres of land in Bhoodan programme. *West Bengal* :—The P.C.C. has sponsored a Chhatra Parisad to work among students. A Youth Conference was held at Jalpaiguri in June. A Student convention was held in Calcutta in September, which was addressed by senior Congress leaders.

(4) In the course of their usual tours the General Secretaries have addressed Congress youth workers in many places. Shri Hiralal Bose, the A.I.C.C. Youth Organiser, continued his tour in the various parts of the country, especially in Assam, Bihar and Maharastra, to assist in organising the Youth work of the

P.C.Cs. He travelled about 22,000 miles in 1954 and spoke at 72 youth and public meetings.

(5) The A.I.C.C. continued its effort to prepare suitable literature for young people. Five further issues of the News letter have been published, which usually contain reports of Congress youth activities and feature articles on matters concerning young people. A small book in English has also been published—Building New India—containing selected writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Acharya Vinoba Bhave. A Hindi edition of this book is under preparation. A list of 32 suitable books for young people has been prepared and circulated to all Congress Youth Organisations.

(6) At the invitation of the World Assembly of Youth, Shri Ramlal Parikh, General Secretary of the Gujarat Youth Congress, attended the conference of this Assembly at Singapore in September, as an observer on behalf of the A.I.C.C.

(7) The A.I.C.C. arranged a Congress Youth Workers Convention at Kalyani from January 21st to 23rd, 1954, when the Indian National Congress was in session there. Two hundred and eighty-six young men (176 delegates including 6 women and 110 observers) from 21 Pradeshes attended. These were :—Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Delhi, Gujarat, Hyderabad, Karnatak, Mahakoshal, Malayala, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Nagpur, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamilnad, Utkal, Uttar Pradesh, Vidarbha, Vindhya Pradesh and West Bengal. The basis of representation was one for each Congress district. In addition there were about 200 local visitors. Most of the delegates and observers also attended the Congress Session as "workers". The main topic for discussion was the Role of Youth in Building Up the New India. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the Convention and Dr. B. V. Keskar presided. Other speakers included Shri S. N. Agarwal, Shri Abid Ali, Shri Harekrushna Mehtab and Shri G. L. Nanda. Shri Hiralal Bose presented the report of A.I.C.C.'s youth activities in the previous year, and the Pradesh Youth Congress Conveners gave the reports

of Congress youth activities in the respective Pradeshes. In the general discussion thirty-two delegates took part.

(8) Considerable discussion took place on the organisational aspect of Congress youth work. And at the suggestion of the Convention the Conveners of the P.C.C. Youth Organisations had a meeting under the chairmanship of Shri S. N. Agarwal. All conveners gave their views and the following were among the decisions taken :—

(i) An Advisory Committee may be appointed by the A.I.C.C. for the guidance of its Youth Department.

(ii) There shall be a committee consisting of all the Pradesh Youth Conveners to co-ordinate the activities of the Youth Departments of different Pradesh Congress Committees. The Youth Organiser of the A.I.C.C. will be the Convener of this Committee, which will meet at the time of Congress Sessions and also at the time of the meetings of the A.I.C.C.

(iii) The A.I.C.C. will guide and supervise the working of the Youth Congresses or of the Pradesh Congress Youth Departments and co-ordinate their activities.

(iv) The P.C.Cs will be free to evolve their own Constitution for youth work, in accordance with local conditions and requirements.

(v) The activities for Congress youth workers for 1954 shall include :—(a) Bhoodan and Shramdan ; (b) Study Classes ; (c) Youth and Student Welfare activities ; (d) Social and Adult Education ; and (e) Study Tours to various National Enterprises, Community Project Areas, Development Blocs and National Extension Service and other production centres.

(9) In October 1954 the A.I.C.C. set up the following Advisory Committee for its Youth and Seva Dal Departments :—

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|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Shri Jainarain Vyas. | 5. Shri N. R. Malkani. |
| 2. Dr. B. V. Keskar. | 6. Shri Diwan Chand Sharma. |
| 3. Shri Abid Ali. | 7. Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair. |
| 4. Dr. N. S. Hardker. | 8. Shri J. K. Bhonsle. |

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|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 9. <i>Smt. Indira Gandhi.</i> | 14. <i>Dr. K. L. Shrimali.</i> |
| 10. <i>Shri Satish Chandra.</i> | 15. <i>Dr. Mono Mohan Das.</i> |
| 11. <i>Shri S. N. Mishra.</i> | 16. <i>Shri Ramakrishna Bajaj.</i> |
| 12. <i>Shri Shah Newaz Khan.</i> | 17. <i>Dr. Ram Subhag Singh.</i> |
| 13. <i>Shri R. Venkataraman.</i> | |

(10) The first meeting of this Committee was held in New Delhi on December 4 and 5, 1954. The whole field of Congress youth work was reviewed, especially its organisational aspect. The Committee felt that for the sake of efficiency, uniformity and better co-ordination and to enable a larger number of young people to participate in Congress youth work, the A.I.C.C. should prepare a Model Constitution for the youth work of the P.C.Cs. The proposal was that the P.C.Cs. should have more or less autonomous organisations for their youth work. But this work should be carried out under the general guidance of the P.C.C. And the entire Congress youth work in the country should be guided and co-ordinated by the A.I.C.C. through a National Council of Youth Congress. While it was true that election etc. had certain evils, but for the democratic functioning of an organisation the process of election was vital. The alternative was nomination which did not rouse much interest or attract vital people. The provision for membership, election, etc. would enable young people to obtain experience of the process of democratic functioning. The following rules were therefore recommended for this purposes :—

(i) At the Centre there shall be a National Council of Youth Congress consisting of members of the Central Advisory Committee for Youth and Seva Dal departments and General Secretaries of the Pradesh Youth Congresses.

(ii) Each P.C.C. shall have an Advisory Committee for its youth work.

(iii) The Youth Congress shall function under the general guidance of the P.C.C.

(iv) One representative from each district, elected by the District Executive, shall constitute the Pradesh Executive Committee.

(v) The P.C.C. shall nominate not more than 3 members for the Pradesh Executive Committee. There shall be one representative each from the Pradesh Seva Dal and Women's Department on this Committee.

(vi) The D.C.C. shall nominate not more than 3 members for the District Executive Committee. There shall be one representative each from the District Seva Dal and Women's Department on this Committee.

(vii) One elected representative from each Mandal shall constitute the District Executive Committee.

(viii) The Primary Unit shall be the Mandal with a minimum of 100 members.

(ix) One sixth of the members of a Pradesh or District Committee may be coopted.

(x) The P.C.C. shall generally invite the Secretary of the Youth Congress to attend its meetings.

(xi) The Pradesh Executive Committee shall elect one of its members as General Secretary. He shall choose from amongst the members of this Committee a Treasurer and, if necessary, a Joint Secretary.

(xii) The District Executive Committee shall elect one of its members as Secretary. He shall choose a Treasurer from amongst the members of this Committee.

(xiii) No office bearer of the Congress shall be an office-bearer of the Youth Congress.

(xiv) Any person between the ages of 14 and 30 on payment of an annual subscription of annas four and on completion of the application form can be a member. It is not compulsory for him to be a member of the Congress, but he must not be a member of any other political or communal organisation. An office bearer of the Youth Congress must however be a primary member of the Congress.

(xv) Elections should be held every 2 years, before the end of September as far as possible.

(xvi) The Pradesh Youth Congress should hold an Annual Conference.

LIBRARY

A thorough checking and rearrangement has been done in the Library. By special reminder many books long due for return, have been received back. Many unregistered books have been entered in the Library Register. All books have been classified according to subjects.

The sanctioned amount of Rs. 3,000/-for 1954 has been spent in purchasing about 1,500 books on Economics, Political Science, Gandhism, History, and Literature. The number of books purchased in 1954 and their cost are higher than those in the previous two or three years. This has brought the total number of books to 8,752. 297 are presentation copies.

At our request the Foreign Embassies in New Delhi have been sending us their literature. Viswa-Bharati and Navajivan are among the publishers who, at our request, have sent us copies of their publications.

The Library has been increasingly used by a number of scholars and institutions, commissions etc., especially the States' Reorganisation Commission, the Board of Directors of the History of Freedom Movement, Backward Classes Commission. Under special circumstances some of them have been given permission to borrow books. The staff members have also made increased use of the Library.

To cope with the increased work, it was found necessary to make certain changes in the procedure of issue and return of books. Card system and Book-slip are among the new measures introduced.

ECONOMIC & POLITICAL RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

“ A.I.C.C. Economic Review ” & “ Arthik Sameeksha ’

During the year under review the Economic and Political Research Department of the All India Congress Committee continued the publication of the English fortnightly the “ A.I.C.C. Economic Review ” and the Hindi “ Arthik Sameeksha ”. The journals grew in popularity as was evidenced by the increase in their subscribers as also agency sales. A substantial number of subscriptions were also received for the “ A.I.C.C. Economic Review ” from foreign countries.

Two special numbers of the “ A.I.C.C. Economic Review ” namely, the Village Panchayat Number, and the Independence Anniversary Number were published in July and August 1954, respectively. Besides, a special Kalyani Congress Number was brought out at the time of the Kalyani Congress.

Four special numbers of the Hindi “ Arthik Sameeksha ” were also published. These were (i) The Congress Special Number at the time of the Kalyani Congress ; (ii) the Sarvodaya Number published in April 1954, on the occasion of the Bodh Gaya Sarvodaya Conference ; (iii) the Gramodyog or Village Industries Special, published in July 1954 ; and (iv) the Independence Anniversary Number published on August 15.

The Hindi journals continued to reproduce articles of the ‘ Arthik Sameeksha ’ on a wide scale and in their reviews the Hindi world hailed the ‘ Sameeksha ’ as the best journal on economic problems published in Hindi. The ‘ Economic Review ’ articles were also widely commented upon and reproduced in English journals. These journals, as a matter of fact, highlighted the numerous economic issues facing the country and gave clear lead on various questions. In many cases, the articles in the

journals became the starting point of large-scale discussions in the press of the country, e.g. the question of reform in the administrative machinery, the problem of fixing a ceiling on land holdings, and the problem of rationalisation etc.

Special mention may, however, be made of the contribution of these journals of the Economic and Political Research Department on the question of the organisation of Village Panchayats with special emphasis on basing the second Five-Year Plan on the villages. The ideas propounded in the leading articles by the Congress General Secretary and Chief Editor, Prof. S. N. Agarwal, as also the views expressed in other contributions drew country wide attention. The Planning Commission gave special thought to the question and sent out a circular directing the State Governments to base the next plan on the village. At the Local-Self Government Ministers Conference held at Simla in June, 1954, the convening Union Health Ministry ordered copies of the 'Review' and supplied it to the invitees. A survey of State Panchayat Legislations prepared by the Economic and Political Research Department was also cyclostyled and circulated by the Health Ministry. The Secretary of the Economic and Political Research Department was also invited to attend this Conference.

Land Reforms in India :

At the time of the Kalyani Congress in January, 1954, the Economic and Political Research Department published a book "*Land Reforms in India*" by H. D. Malaviya, the Secretary of the Department. This book of 461 pages was widely acclaimed by the entire Indian Press and orders for about 500 copies came from the United States of America. The first 100 pages of the book gives a comprehensive background of the development of Congress land policy and the subsequent chapters described the land situation and land reforms in each of the Parts 'A', 'B' and 'C'

State of the Indian Union. It has been recommended as a text book for the B.A. and M.A. courses of certain Universities. The first edition has already been sold out and a second edition brought out.

Land reforms in India under the Congress regime, are constantly evolving, and the question is constantly drawing the attention of our Union as well as State Governments. The Economic and Political Research Department is attempting to study this evolving pattern and it is our wish to bring out the results of our studies after the steps that have been and are being undertaken today, have had play for some time, for only then a real evaluation in terms of the lives of the people would be possible.

Towards the end of 1954, Shri H. D. Malaviya, the Secretary of the Department, was invited as a lecturer to the F.A.O. Land Problems Centre for Asia and the Far East held at Bangkok. The participation at this Centre by a representative of the Congress Organisation revealed the great interest that has been aroused in Asian countries in the land reform experiment that we have carried on in India.

Just now the Research Department is busy in a study of Village Panchayats in India in a historical perspective as also in the light of the requirements of restoring their ancient glory in a modern setting. It is proposed to publish a study of about 500 pages on the subject in the course of this year.

STAFF

In the end we express our thanks to the members of the staff. During the year Shri Prem Chand Jain of the Economic and Research Department left us and Shri M. P. Mehra joined us in his place. Shri Surya Kumar Joshi also joined us in the translation department.

We are also grateful to our honorary auditors M/s. Dalal and Shah, and M/s. Chottalal. H. Shah & Co. The audited accounts of the A.I.C.C. for 1954 are being given separately.

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